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A purpose of the Augusta County Historical Society is to publish *Augusta Historical Bulletin* to be sent without charge to all members. Single issues are available at \$2.00 per copy.

The membership of the society is composed of annual and life members who pay the following dues:

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David Grim, the Middlebrook potter, and his Family.
 Courtesy, Annie Bessie Grimm (Mrs. J. D.)

POTS, POTTERIES, AND POTTING IN AUGUSTA COUNTY, 1800 - 1870

Jim Hanger

There were wars in Europe involving Germany and there was sufficient strife and angry resentment to cause forty to fifty thousand Germans to come to the Quaker colony in the New World, Pennsylvania, between 1702 and 1727. Finding the coast quite populous by their standards the Germans moved into the back country, mainly those counties which surrounded Philadelphia such as York, Lancaster, Lebanon, and Berks.

With the passing of several years land prices rose sharply in western Pennsylvania and there was increased ethnic discord between the late-coming Germans and earlier settlers, who were mainly French and English. These events precipitated Germanic migrations in America down through Maryland into the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia and westward into Ohio, where land was cheap and where fathers could afford to leave their sons more and better inheritances. The Augusta County census records of the early 1800s give a clear indication of this migration in the listing of the birthplaces of children. For example, Edward Walter, an Augusta County potter, and his wife, Mary, came to this country from Prussia. Oral tradition has it that it took Walter and his new bride seven months to reach the American coast. Being used to a city life, they settled for awhile in Philadelphia. The first three children were born in Pennsylvania, the fourth was born in Maryland, and the next three in Virginia, where their parents had settled near Doooms in eastern Augusta County.

The folk potters, such as Walter, brought from the old country the skill of finding clay, a talent which for the most part has been lost. Today one simply has to call to receive a ton of dry clay that is ready to mix and use. But in their time digging and mixing the clay was a major task.

The Shenandoah Valley yielded plenty of clay, most of which was sedimentary and contained great quantities of iron. These were the earthenware clays which were most commonly

found along streams and rivers or in swampy areas. Earthenware clays have a low firing range. This, coupled with their plasticity, meant that they could be added to stoneware clay to improve throwing* and lower the high maturation temperature of the stoneware. They were also used extensively alone, but had to be glazed using lead as the principle flux or melting agent. The red clays with their iron exuding its rich colorant demanded a harmonizing glaze either clear or darkened with manganese, a mineral which existed in sufficient quantity to warrant mining. In the schedules of industries of the census records, a mining company by the name of Alexander and Hanger was listed in northern Augusta County. This concern employed fourteen men at a monthly cost of \$300 and in 1860 produced 350 tons of manganese then valued at \$5,250.

Earthenware clay remains porous (5 to 15 per cent) and fragile after firing. So glazing was employed in this instance to control seepage. Usually a slip clay was used on the interior of the vessels, but slip clays occurring naturally with sufficient fluxes to melt as a glaze at earthenware temperatures are rare south of New Jersey. It may be assumed then that lead in its most lethal form, red lead, was added to achieve a proper melt.

The Shenandoah Valley also yielded limited amounts of kaolin, the purest white burning clay. On the Shenandoah Railroad near Sherando Station and Liscomb, a deposit of kaolin and fireclay was found which led to the establishment of the Virginia China Clay and Firebrick Works. According to one source, this early industrial venture was cut short due to a disastrous fire of the uninsured buildings followed by the panic of 1873.

More ball clays were found than kaolin in the Valley. Although formed from the same feldspathic rock as kaolin, these clays were carried by erosion to low-lying areas where they became more plastic as a result of the decaying vegetable matter absorbed by the clay.

Containing still more impurities and hence more common, stoneware clays were found the entire length of the Valley close to shale and coal deposits. They are very plastic by nature and have fine throwing qualities, but take a high temperature to mature.

Any farmer who has ever tried to plow a low-lying field containing potter's clay knows its qualities. It is dense and

* (forming or shaping)

sticky. When turned out by the plow and left to dry, it approaches the hardness of shale. Our early potters worked hard to dig by hand a wagon load of wet clay. Once a shovel was imbedded, the clay was not easily taken from the earth. Stiff wire loops were employed to cut the clay from its mother deposit. Then, after several months of constant leaching by rain, it was ready to be mixed. Wet pits or ring pits, it is stated, were used for grinding the clay. Heavy wheels as large as six feet in diameter were pulled round and round in these shallow wood or masonry-lined pits. Later the vertical shaft pug mill, which looked much like a giant ice cream mixer, was used for mixing the clay. In either case, horses or blind mules were used to drive the wheels.

Once the clay was mixed, storage was a problem because the wet clay could freeze, separating the water from the clay and making remixing necessary. It is hard to imagine heating the clay. Perhaps the mix was kept in a ground cellar below the frost line. In his book on American potters Ramsey all but ignores potteries existing south of Strasburg, Virginia, mentioning only briefly the Moravians of North Carolina.¹ He terms most southern potters "blue-bird potters," meaning that they only operated during seasonably warm months. I have found this to be largely false, as the census records state that most Augusta County potteries operated on a full twelve-month schedule. If indeed the unused clay was allowed to freeze, there was still a sizable amount of firing to be done. The Watson Pottery in 1850 produced 19,200 pieces of pottery and employed only three people. When the census was taken, they had on hand sixty tons of clay. The amount of firing necessary must have taken them well into the winter months.

After mining and throwing, glazing was perhaps the most time-consuming operation involved in making pottery. Again refined materials were not easily found. Materials had to be milled or otherwise prepared. Indeed the richness and variety of the glazes found on pottery from Augusta County is due to the impure materials used. Two basic glaze types existed: lead glazes for low-fire earthenware and salt glazes for stoneware.

People in New England knew of the dangers of lead as early as 1750. It is assumed that the information came south with the migration to Virginia. However, pockets of settlers did exist that were ignorant of the effects of lead on acid foods, although it is impossible to say how much damage was inflicted on the in-

cautious or uninformed family. The Shumaker Pottery listed in the Mt. Sidney-based census of 1870 showed an inventory of 500 pounds of lead. The Watson Pottery kept 640 pounds of lead on hand. A typical redware or earthenware glaze maturing at 1,700°F. contained 114 parts red lead, 39 parts sand, and 10 parts clay.

Stoneware required a higher temperature to mature and required a very efficient kiln design. Ramsey states:

At its simplest a kiln was a rectangular box with a single grate or fire box at one end, separated by a wall and a stack or chimney at the other end. More efficient kilns, as used in eastern Pennsylvania were the circular updraft type about twelve feet in diameter and eight feet high with a domed top resembling a flattened beehive. These had two or three small fireboxes around the outside wall and flames passing through the kiln to the top; wood being used as fuel. The door was sealed and it was burned for about thirty hours until the glaze fused, ending with a period of intense heat when dry pine was used. It was cooled slowly to prevent crazing.²



Grim kiln base, Middlebrook.



Lead glazed pot originally with two spouts made by David Grim.

Photographs by George Sproul

In *Decorated Stoneware of North America* by Webster, we find "the typical stoneware and redware kiln was built below ground so only the top of the earth covered dome could be seen from above. Fires were fueled from a pit or on occasion, from a tunnel."³

Salt was introduced either through salting ports or holes or was thrown into the firebox. Draw tiles were made and used to check the buildup of the glaze formed from the combination of the soda of the salt and the silica or sand in the clay body. The salt fumes rarely reached the interior of the pots so they were slip glazed before being placed in the kiln. The pots were stacked on top of each other either resting directly on one another or separated by tiles to allow the greatest surface area to be exposed to the fumes. Salting was done mainly on windy days for the heat combined with the salt produced a deadly gas, sodium chlorine. A granddaughter of David Grim, an Augusta County potter, has stated that he was blind the last ten years of his life due to the combination of these fumes with the continued exposure to infra-red light waves which produce glass blowers cataracts.

Stoneware or pottery that has been vitrified has been heated to at least 2,318°F. until the clay has become a solid liquid. It will not seep moisture like earthenware and the glaze is necessary only for cleanliness. The medium of clay reached its renaissance in this country at the hands of the stoneware potters around 1800. It was then that they had departed from shapes traditional in their past and incorporated a form similar to the classical ovoid shapes of the Mediterranean pots then being unearthed. This produced a revival in classical forms. To enhance these pregnant shapes, the American potters lavishly produced trailed and painted designs with cobalt. Inscribed areas filled with cobalt and applied clay, which had been press-molded or more rarely hand-molded, became common.

The potters of New England were competing with imported English stoneware. But the potters in the Valley, specifically those in Augusta County, were not and therefore did not feel the need for so elaborate a finish. If anything, they were slow to change from their basically Slavic shapes. But change did come, mainly because of competition among themselves. Immigration continued so that by early 1860 the county was inundated by the earth men — the molders of clay. The 1870 census shows

Augusta County possessing sixteen potters who employed twelve persons outside the family.⁴

With the quantity of production and the resulting competition, concern for esthetic shapes and appealing cobalt decoration, now in its last revival, began to wane. By 1860 the basic shape had become the cylinder, the crocks straight sided with wide substantial bottoms and the jugs merely cylinders with an inverted cone for a top. The pregnant shapes disappeared and the almost oriental dignity of line in the cobalt brushwork was reduced to rigid, quick attempts at stenciling on the straight sides. Perhaps this lack of spontaneity was an early signal that the life was going out of America's pre-industrial potteries. The cottage industries were indeed dying.

Prior to 1860 stoneware and earthenware vessels kept stores of butter, salt beef and pork, vinegar, pickled vegetables, sauerkraut, whiskey, beer, and even water. Progress in the applied sciences and growing industry brought about such inventions as vacuum canning in 1860. Prior to this, the potters had produced crocks with a ledge just inside the lip. At first wax, resting on this ledge, had been used to seal out insects and mold. Later a lid and a rubber ring, held down by wire or a stone, were used. Crocks with food stores were kept in the springhouse a short distance from the residence, but in 1870 the ice box was introduced, making it possible to keep things cold in the kitchen and unnecessary the use of crocks as water barriers. In 1880 still another blow was struck in the form of low-cost molded glass, which by 1890 was being mechanically mass-produced. The folk potter, who had supplied his community with every kind of vessel and churn, was being made obsolete and by 1910 was dead.

Several problems arise in researching the potters of Augusta County. The first of these refers to the terminology used by the census takers. In the northern counties of Rockingham and Shenandoah, the census takers refer to the type of ware produced as stoneware. Very few potters are described as producing earthenware. And along with the clay and wood listed in the census inventories, salt is listed once in Shenandoah county. Presumably in the inventory of other potteries the official grouped salt with "other" material. Little mention is made of quantities of lead. In Augusta County great amounts of lead were stockpiled and recorded by every pottery listed. Nowhere was salt mentioned specifically in the Augusta inventories. There is the first puzzle. It is known that stoneware was produced as far south in

the Valley as Mount Crawford. But did the Augusta census taker know the difference that exists between the two types of wares or did he merely class any type of pottery under earthenware, being of the earth, and made of clay?

Considering the aversion toward using lead-glazed items for storing acid foods, it is hard to conceive of the local potters producing only low-fire crocks whose glaze had to contain lead to melt and fuse. At auctions today in the county both types of pottery are found, although stoneware is by far the most dominant. Earthenware is very fragile and therefore would suffer the greatest casualties in number over the years of juggling from one home to the next. But the great amount of stoneware which survives is still curious. If only earthenware was produced in this county, wagon loads of heavy stone crocks and jugs had to be brought in by horse either for sale or trade. It is feasible that the great West Virginia stoneware potteries did trade in the county's rich grassy area with quantity distillers of rye whisky. It may have been profitable to load the crockery for delivery in Staunton and return with a great store of the much desired brew, thus reaping a double profit from the time-consuming venture. Many stoneware crocks may have come south with household possessions. However, A. P. Donaghho crocks persist in the county and they had to come east from Parkersburg, West Virginia, at a time when the trend was to move westward. Many crocks show a stenciled "Staunton." They are late chronologically and their origin is unknown. From research it cannot be said that stoneware was made in Augusta County. The pieces in possession of various descendants of the county's potters are all earthenware. But it is still possible that a piece of stoneware will turn up.

The second disturbing fact is that most of the potters of the county were deemed illiterate in the census. But research in wills and estate accounts and inventories points out impressively the amount of knowledge possessed by these "illiterate" potters. Balzer Lutz, a county potter, left to his wife, Catherine, in a will dated 1846 "as many of my German books as she may wish to keep."⁵ In the inventory of the estate was an eight-day weighted brass clock, three spinning wheels, a loom, and a German Bible. At the time of his death he owned 844 acres.⁶ And there are other references to libraries and articles of furnishings which give an impression of reasonable wealth among the potters. But Catlett and Fishburne have clarified the illiteracy classification:

"The Census Bureau classifies as illiterate any person ten years of age or over who is unable to write his or her name in any language . . . regardless of an ability to read."⁷

In the summer of 1971 the Augusta County Soil Conservation office was preparing two ponds on a farm near Middlebrook owned by A. Meade Reames. The bulldozer operator had no idea that he had suddenly become an archeologist with a multi-ton machine replacing miniature picks and brushes. Upon hitting something of a solid mass, the driver went around it. Slowly was uncovered a kiln base much filled with earth and ash and in an advanced state of decay due to freezing and decomposition of the brick. It stood three and a half feet tall with a circumference of twenty-three feet eight inches. The outer wall of the base was two feet four inches thick with bricks layed as flooring covering the interior space. Through the middle was a channel walled of brick with single brick arches. The channel was cut in two by a bagwall which directed flames up into the main chamber of the kiln. The bulldozer did destroy an outer arched structure. It is assumed from the angle of the brick that a tunnel-like arch-roofed chamber surrounded the kiln, the roof arch taking off from the angled brick which was located one foot ten inches from the base of the brick work. Backing these angled brick were cut brick.

The bricks around the two arched openings were heavily coated with a greenish celadon glaze which seems to be an ash glaze formed at intense heat from the wood ash and silica in the brick. The thickness was so great as to hold the interior arches together. On the floor of the channel, tiles were found with marks indicating that pots had been placed on them or that they had been used to separate stacks of pots in the firing. On the tiles near the bagwall were the shards of a jar. It was earthenware and if reconstructed would stand twelve inches with a diameter at the lip of ten inches. The glaze was a yellow tan, probably a rutile glaze with dark iron streaks and flecks. Other shards show various lip treatment. All were thickened for utility and were most likely formed by a shaped wooden rib held against the outer wall and with the clay forced into the notches while it was still turning. As most throwing ridges are absent on the exterior, it is assumed that it was tooled with a straight rib to smooth the outside wall.

The largest shards, two pieces of a flared rim, measure eleven inches in length. One shard is puzzling. It is a

fragment, four inches across the bottom, cut in three places, finished, and glazed on all sides. If it is not a draw tile, its function is questionable. In abundance were stilts fashioned quickly from a maleable rope of clay, cut in sections, and flattened on both ends. The largest is three inches long. These were used to stabilize stacks of pots, acting as spacers between the walls of pots in different stacks to help prevent shifting under heat duress.⁸

In the Hotchkiss *Atlas of Augusta County*, a map of the Riverheads district of the county made in 1884 shows the property with this kiln as "D. Grim's Pottery." David Grim lived from 1812 to 1889 and is buried with his wife at Mt. Tabor Lutheran Church. He belonged to a family of potters: his father Christian and uncles Jacob and Philip. David had two brothers, Jacob and William, who were potters and in turn had four sons each of whom became a potter. In 1844, the Christian Grim estate was auctioned and David Grim bought a set of gears for sixty-five cents, one shovel for eighty cents, one clay mill for seventy-five cents, and one turning lag (potter's wheel) for four dollars. His brother, William Grim, purchased another turning lag, a glazing mill, and a pipe mold.⁹

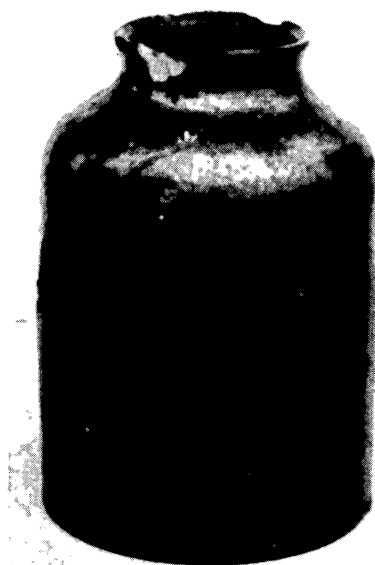
Pottery known to have been made by the Grims is scarce and that which exists is unidentified. Some belong to a granddaughter and others are in the possession of a great-granddaughter. One pot is dated and bears the inscription: "to Miss Mollie Fauver, 1886." Family tradition has it that this was a girl friend from whom David Grim parted before the presentation of the piece. A jug with a carved handle has one of two spouts remaining. Although lead glazed, the family has always kept vinegar in this jug. The handle treatment makes this a very rare form in Valley pottery.

Information is still sought on the other potters who lived in the county. A checklist of the potters taken from the census records from 1850 to 1880 follows.

From the 1840 census:

Christian Grimm and
Jacob Grimm

Riverheads District



Earthenware with transparent glaze made at Walters Pottery, Dooms, Virginia.



Earthenware flower pot inscribed "to Miss Molly Fauver, 1886" made by William Grim.

Photographs by George Sproul

From the 1850 census (first census to list occupation):

1. David Grim	Age 38	Potter	
M. Grim	25		
Elizabeth (aunt)	67		
Jacob (brother)	24	Potter	
2. Conrad Watson	Age 50	Potter	Born Ma. [Maryland]
Eliz. Watson	48	Wife	Ma.
John W. Watson	25	Potter	Frederick, Ma.
Samuel Watson	23	Potter	Frederick, Ma.

The J. & C. Watson pottery produced 19,200 pieces valued at \$1,728.00. Their inventory listed 640 pounds of lead, 40 cords of wood, and 60 tons of clay. They employed three males who were paid a total of \$55 a month. Capital investment for one year was \$265.00.

3. Samuel Lutz	28	Potter	Pennsylvania
Eliz. W. Lutz	28	Wife	Va.
Balyer Lutz	23	Potter	Va.

Samuel and Balyer Lutz, brothers, produced 8,400 pieces, valued at seven hundred dollars. Their inventory listed twenty-four cords of wood and twenty-two tons of clay. They employed two males who were paid forty-four dollars a month. Capital investment for one year was six hundred dollars.

From the 1860 census:

L. Morris	39	Potter	Va.
A. E. Morris	39	Wife	

Their dwelling was located between Sangersville and Churchville.

From the 1870 census:

1. Wm. Shumate and Co. — Potter Shop
North Subdivision

The inventory included thirty tons of clay, twenty cords of wood, and five hundred pounds of lead. Crocks and jugs produced totaled fifteen hundred dollars in value. Two males were employed at four hundred dollars per month. Capital investment for one year was three hundred dollars.

2. Charles W. Bunsfelt 40 Prussia
North Subdivision

The inventory included fifty tons of clay, six hundred pounds of lead, and forty cords of wood. One male was employed and capital investment was \$200. Eight thousand pots were produced and valued at \$960.

3. Edward Walter 47 Potter Prussia
Mary Walter 41 Wife Prussia

This pottery was located at Dooms on the South river. He had three sons, Earnest, Joseph, and Charles.

NOTES

1. John Ramsey, *American Potters and Pottery* (New York, 1947).
2. *Ibid.*, 12.
3. Donald B. Webster, *Decorated Stoneware of North America* (New York, 1971), 27.
4. This figure does not include sons who might have also known the trade. David Grim did have four sons who were potters.
5. Augusta County Court Records, Will Book No. 30, p. 295.
6. *Ibid.*, Will Book No. 31, p. 59.
7. Clay Catlett and Elliott Fishburne, *An Economic and Social Survey of Augusta County* (Charlottesville, Va., 1928), 41.
8. Another such stilt was found on a sandbank after a flood on Naked Creek where it is crossed by Route 11.
9. Augusta County Court Records, Will Book No. 25, p. 458.

POLITICS AND PUNCH

The Road to Government in Eighteenth-Century Virginia

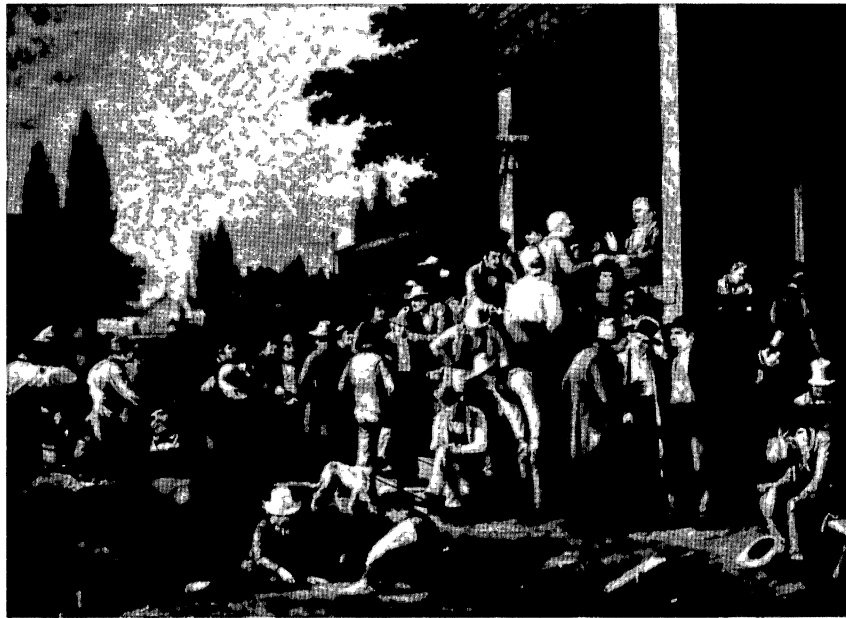
William H. B. Thomas

Readers of *The Virginia Gazette* of August 8, 1755 published in Williamsburg, the colonial capital, learned by way of an express from Augusta County "the melancholy Account of the Murder of Col. James Patton, who was killed by a Party of Indians, the last Day of July"

Colonel Patton, chief military officer of Augusta County, was also one of two members for the county in the House of Burgesses, the lower branch of the General Assembly. One week after the *Gazette* reported Patton's death on his return home from the last meeting of the Assembly, the House, then sitting, put in motion the procedure for electing a successor. But no election took place during the remainder of that session or for the short session later that fall. John Wilson alone sat for Augusta County. Then, in December 1755 a general election was held for the two Augusta seats in the House at the first session of the General Assembly in 1756.

Politics attracted and excited Virginians in the colonial period of the eighteenth century as it has ever since. There was, to be sure, only one expression of the people's will as to who should govern—elections for the House of Burgesses—but by 1750 the House had achieved a position of singular importance in colonial government. It guarded jealously its "ancient Rights and Privileges." It took seriously the initiation of all legislation, including the vital revenue bills, the promulgation of resolutions, and the dispatch of petitions to the King. During the eighteenth century the power of the House grew as the power of the governor lessened.

The House comprised two members from each county and one each from Jamestown, Williamsburg, Norfolk, and the College of William and Mary. By mid-century, therefore, the number of burgesses from forty-five counties and four boroughs



The County Election by George Caleb Bingham, an Augusta County native, painted 1851/52.

From *George Caleb Bingham* 1811-1879
(Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D. C.)

totaled ninety-four. In procedural and other particulars the House considered itself the counterpart of the English House of Commons and sought to emulate that ancient body.

Burgesses traveling by land received 130 pounds of tobacco or ten shillings per day for their travel expenses and for each day they attended the House. They also were granted certain immunities. For ten days before each session, during each session, and for ten days after each session they were free from arrest, attachment, and other processes directed toward their persons, servants, and properties. The only exceptions were in cases of treason, felony, or breach of the peace. But the greatest reward in the minds of many was neither compensation nor rights and privileges. To them the office of a burgess was an honor, greatly cherished.

What sort of men were the burgesses? Very nearly all were men of property and prominence in the counties, men who were members of the County Court, the militia, and the vestry of the parish. For these, particularly the County Court, provided the training, experience, friendships, and political backing with which a promising man might aspire to go to the House. On the County Court, the most important part of local government, a man became familiar with the laws enacted in Williamsburg, experienced in their application, and knowledgeable as to their merit or inadequacy. It was then that he could be given responsibility for their making.

The men who became justices of the peace, militia officers, vestrymen, and later burgesses had early conditioning for posts of authority. On plantations and farms and in the back country exploring vast unknown tracts of wilderness land they gained experience in managing business and people; there they acquired the responsibility of position and the habit of command. They were not always above reproach, they were frequently stubborn and arrogant, but on balance they possessed practical knowledge and often a sound education, experience, poise among their fellows, forcefulness, and a sense of responsibility. Such a background and such characteristics did not automatically put a man in office, but those who held office usually had them.

That candidates for the House of Burgesses were almost invariably gentlemen from among the leading county families, the gentry, did not disturb the voters. For colonial Virginia as England had a class society based on position and property, entrenched more strongly in Tidewater and Piedmont than be-

yond the mountains in the Valley of Virginia but present there as well. This the voters accepted, but they did expect the candidates to treat them with respect. For after all they did have the power to approve or disapprove, and in the aggregate this was a vital element of democracy in colonial Virginia. Political power remained in the people, even though the exercise of government was vested in a few. There was an aristocratic and a democratic aspect to government: both existed, both were recognized and accepted.

In colonial Virginia as in England, elections were not held periodically but at varying times and for various reasons. They were of two types: general elections and special or by-elections.

General elections for all seats in the House of Burgesses followed a dissolution of the General Assembly by the governor. Upon the arrival of a new representative of the Crown, it was customary for him to dissolve the Assembly and order a new election. And if the House took action which he considered a violation of the prerogatives of the Crown or Parliament he would also order a dissolution and a general election.

Special or by-elections were held in the event of a member's death, resignation, or expulsion from the House. These elections followed the same procedures and practices as those for general elections.

At least forty days before the meeting of the General Assembly in the case of a general election or upon petition by the House for a special election, the governor signed and issued a writ of election. This was directed to the sheriffs of the counties or the sheriff of a particular county in a special election. The writ was returnable by a certain date, frequently six or eight weeks later. It was then the duty of the sheriff to set the time for the election, at least twenty days after he had received the writ and usually several weeks afterwards. Ordinarily that day was one on which the County Court regularly met. The place for the election—and there was only one place set by law—was the county courthouse.

In order to advise the people of the election—in a period without modern communications media—the sheriff sent copies of the writ with the specified time and place of election to the parish minister or readers in the churches. The minister or reader read the writ and noted the time and place at the close of divine service each Sunday until election day. At the polls

then the voters would gather and exercise that political power which rested with them.

Who were the voters in the rough-and-tumble of eighteenth-century politics? Not all could vote. There were restrictions and qualifications which in later centuries would be considered unacceptable. Women were excluded from the polls as were Negroes, whether free or slave, and Indians.

After 1736 and until the end of the colonial period, a qualified voter was a white male over twenty-one who for a year prior to the election had owned twenty-five acres of land improved by a house and planting, one hundred acres of unoccupied land, or a house and lot in a town, and who belonged to the Anglican or Established church. But the latter qualification was not rigidly enforced, however, and dissenters voted freely in colonial elections.

Most of those who went to the polls qualified by owning twenty-five acres of land on which they lived and worked. Wealth, even moderate wealth, was not therefore a prerequisite; the principal body of voters was composed of neither those extremely well-to-do nor those possessed of little.

There was no residence requirement. Therefore, a man could vote in as many counties as he met the freehold mandate and, as well, could stand for election in any county in which he could vote. He could represent, however, only one county in the House and thus would have to make a choice. This potential, of course, favored men of considerable property.

The property qualification was considered important. It was believed that men who owned their land and were associated with and involved in community affairs would be responsible and concerned with good and proper government. In the agricultural society that was eighteenth-century colonial Virginia most adult white landowners, large and small, could vote. Among those who could not on this basis were overseers, tenants, and laborers.

Those qualified to vote were required by law to do so on penalty of being fined. But this was not strictly enforced. Seldom did a substantial majority of those eligible to vote come to the polls, unless the election was considered particularly important. Of the approximately fifty per cent of the adult white male population estimated to have been qualified to vote, on an average something more than forty per cent are believed to have taken part.

Prior to election day, campaign activity familiar in more recent times did not exist. There was little speechmaking, and voters were spared the haranguing of another era. A few pamphlets were published. The *Virginia Gazette* carried some political pronouncements. But candidates were supposed to maintain a dignified separation between themselves and the voters: gentlemen did not solicit votes. House-to-house canvassing was looked upon unfavorably, and the House of Burgesses disapproved of campaign promises.

It is a fact, however, that candidates found a distinction between seeking support and soliciting votes. They did mingle with the people, careful to do so in a quiet, unassuming way. They met friends and acquaintances and shook hands with strangers on court day, at militia musters, and after church. They discussed support with powerful associates in the county. And these gentlemen in turn would tell others of their leanings. Then, too, groups in a county might meet and talk over the candidates. Thus it was that men in the counties did have an influence in the election of burgesses and ultimately in colonial government itself.

The County Court also had a considerable influence in the outcome of elections. Although the justices might not risk favoring a man known to be unpopular, similarly a voter, recalling the very considerable power of those gentlemen, might hesitate to cast his vote for one known to be out of favor with the court. And the sheriff, in the exercise of his duties, also could affect election results. He could set a day most convenient for the candidates of his choice. It was within his power to end the voting despite a candidate's request to keep the polls open for possible voters yet to come. Even if he conducted the election with complete impartiality, a voter's knowledge of that important official's preference could sway his own choice.

Campaigns seldom revolved around issues, even though vital. Local and personal interests were pervasive. It was men not issues or policies that influenced the freeholders in their choice. And there were no political parties, as presently known, to align people one against another.

As election day approached the candidates almost to a man, including such eminent and circumspect personages as George Washington, treated potential voters with food and drink, a persuasive practice more picturesquely described at the time as "swilling the planters with bumbo." Such hospitality began well

before election time, gained momentum as the day drew near, and reached its peak as voters went to the polls. And candidates often held open house before elections and put up weary travelers making their way from great distances to the county courthouse. Frequently this entailed several days entertainment before the polls opened.

There was a variety and a great quantity of refreshments served during the treating, as that custom was generally known. Rum punch was a favorite. Whiskey and other liquors and wines were popular. Cookies, ginger cakes, and occasionally barbecued beeves and hogs provided enjoyable sustenance. Sometimes a candidate made a public affair of his treating, inviting all who would come. On election day the flow of drink reached substantial proportions. In 1758 Washington supplied 160 gallons to 391 voters and "unnumbered hangers-on," providing each with more than a quart and a half apiece.

Treating went on vigorously, despite a law that prohibited giving money, meat, drink, gifts, rewards, and other inducements in order to secure votes for election to the General Assembly. But scrupulous candidates insisted that theirs was hospitality at all times and for all people and not merely their own supporters, for friends and strangers alike, and that they did not ask for votes. If this was a nice distinction, it often spelled the difference between being seated or refused by the House of Burgesses.

There were candidates, and prominent ones, who disapproved of treating. In an election in Orange County in 1777, James Madison, in one of his early candidacies, was defeated as a result of his refusal to treat the voters to free drink. Treating, which even after the end of the colonial period the voters still expected, was a custom brought over from England by the early settlers, Madison believed, and he sought to inaugurate another and better way of doing things. But, it was reported, "the old habits were too deeply rooted to be suddenly reformed."

When election day arrived, interest and excitement reached a peak. Court days were always a time for the people to gather, an important event in a land of widely separated plantations and farms and few and small towns. Men gathered at the courthouse not only to engage in lawsuits or other judicial activities but also to meet friends and talk of crops and horses and family news, to transact business and to make sales and trades, to watch the proceedings, and to share in the general festivities. And when it was election day as well there was an additional under-

current of excitement, enhanced by the lure of plentiful refreshments. Virginians liked politics.

Voters came on foot, on horseback, in wagons, and occasionally by carriage. There were the great plantation owners and land speculators, large and small farmers, merchants, professional men, and the old man voting for perhaps the last time and the young voting for the first time.

Within the courthouse the sheriff, in charge of the election, sat behind a long table or platform, often the justices' bench. Flanking him on either side were several, usually ranking, members of the County Court and at the ends the candidates. It was a custom deemed important to follow that a candidate be present at an election. Clerks, one for each candidate, were nearby, with long poll sheets ruled with numbered lines for voters' names so that the tally for individual contestants could be ascertained readily at any time.

When the sheriff believed that all the voters had arrived, he opened the election by reading the governor's writ establishing it. Since there was no registration beforehand to determine eligibility and hence no names to be checked, voting commenced at once. Occasionally this was done "by view," perhaps by a show of hands, but most frequently by taking a poll.

Each freeholder came before the sheriff, subject only to that official refusing to take his vote if he knew him to be disqualified or to a challenge by one of the candidates demanding that he swear to having met the requirements. For attempting to vote without qualification there was a fine.

The sheriff then announced the freeholder's name and asked him how he would vote. (In a general election, of course, he would vote for two men.) That individual, for a brief moment the focus of absorbed and intense interest, spoke aloud his choice. The clerks rapidly wrote the names on the candidates' poll sheets, and those gentlemen customarily acknowledged the voter's support with a bow, a handshake, or some felicitous remark. In a special election the procedure was the same.

When the sheriff thought that all had voted he closed the poll, whether it be early in the day, after dark, or the following day. He went to the door of the courthouse and called out three times for "Gentlemen freeholders" to come and vote or the poll would be closed. After it was closed, the sheriff declared the candidate or candidates receiving the greatest number of votes elected to the House of Burgesses. He attached to the writ of

Assembly.

The Schedule, to be annexed to the Writ.

For a County.

By Virtue of this Writ to me directed, in my full County, held at the Court-house for my said County, upon the Day of in the Year of the Reign of by the Grace of God, of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. by the Assent of my said County, I have caused to be chosen Two Burgesses of my said County; to wit, A. B. and C. D. to act and do, as in the said Writ is directed and required.

E. F. Sheriff.

For a Town, or Corporation.

By Virtue of this Writ to me directed, I did make lawful Publication thereof, and afterwards, upon the Day of in the Year of the Reign of by the Grace of God, of Great-Britain, France, and Ireland, King Defender of the Faith, &c. at the said Town of by the Assent of the Freeholders thereof, I have caused to be chosen One Burgess for the said Town; to wit, A. B. of to act and do, as in the said Writ is directed and required.

Laws of Virginia, In case of Death, or Disability of any Burgess, during the Session, if the Sheriff receives a Writ for another Election, he shall give immediate Notice of the Day and Place, to every particular Freeholder, and cause the Election to be made as soon as possible, in Manner before directed: Sheriff refusing to take a Poll, when required by any Candidate, or Freeholder; or taking it otherwise than by this Act directed; or refusing a Copy thereof, upon Request, attested under his Hand; or making false, or insufficient Return; or failing to make any Return, forfeits

Penalty on Sheriffs. *to 1. Sterling, to the King, and Informer.*

Persons giving Treats, &c. Disabled. If any Candidate shall, before Election, give or promise, or cause to be given or promised, to any Freeholder, or to his Use, or to any County, Town, or Corporation, Money, Meat, Drink, Entertainment, Provision, Present, Reward, Employment, Preferment, Profit, or Advantage, the Person so giving or promising, shall be incapable to serve as a Burgess.

Privilege of the Members. All Members of the General Assembly, during their Attendance, and Ten Days before and after every Session, shall be privileged in their Persons, Servants, and Estates Real and Personal, from Arrests, Attachments, Executions, and all other Process whatsoever, except for Treason, Felony,

or

Form for return of election of Burgess (at top of page).

From George Webb, *The Office and Authority of a Justice of Peace*
(Williamsburg, Va., 1736)

election a certificate to this effect and sent the documents to the House.

As a fitting end to the election if it was close or strong feelings were involved, the successful candidate or candidates might be carried off on the shoulders of their friends and supporters or in a chair raised high. Sometimes a winner gave a public celebration.

Under the circumstances, with liquor plentiful and with each vote voiced aloud and the standing of the candidates readily and continuously available for all to see, excitement among officials, candidates, voters, and bystanders was intense; and reaction to the fortunes of the candidates often quickly and sometimes violently expressed. Elections protested by unsuccessful candidates, or other "undue" elections, frequently resulted, reflecting the rough-and-tumble of politics.

It was the right and duty of one of the most important standing committees of the House of Burgesses—the Committee of Privileges and Elections—to investigate contested or "undue" elections and to make recommendations to the House for appropriate action. This responsibility was taken seriously, for proper order in the elections of its members was fundamental to the strength of the House.

Fortunately, a considerable number of these problems came before the Committee, for in the details spread upon the records of the House—who was present, what happened, what was said—an unparalleled glimpse of eighteenth-century politics remains. Two recall political life in early Augusta County. The first was in 1741 in Orange County of which Augusta, though formed, was still a part for governmental and political purposes; the second, in 1755 for the two seats for Augusta formerly held by Colonel James Patton and John Wilson.

At the time of the general election in November 1741 in Orange, Colonel Patton and John Lewis from what was referred to as that part known as Augusta County were members of the Orange County Court. Indeed, representation on that bench from the Shenandoah Valley had commenced as early as the county's organization; then Joist Hite, Benjamin Borden, and Morgan Morgan from the lower valley made their long journey to the courthouse in 1735 over the "great mountains," as Governor Spotswood called the Blue Ridge. And, as it happened, a few days after the election in November a new commission

of the peace came from Williamsburg naming among others as justices Patton, Lewis, Morgan, Borden, and John Buchanan, Patton's son-in-law. From the beginning, men from the Valley—justices and ordinary people as well—had made that lengthy trip; quite probably some were present on November 20, 1741 when the sheriff of Orange, Richard Winslow, opened the poll.

But the election was contested. Thomas Wright Belfield, a candidate who had lost to Robert Slaughter and Henry Downs, filed a petition with the House of Burgesses at the session of 1742 alleging that there had been "an undue election." The petition was referred to the Committee of Privileges and Elections, which thereafter rendered a report to the House based on the testimony of witnesses. Although Slaughter was then sitting as a member, Downs had already been expelled at the session for his conviction for "stealing one sheep of a white color" in Maryland before coming to Virginia.

From the report it appeared that no sooner had the poll been opened about noon on November 20, 1741 than a group "thronged into the courthouse in a riotous manner and made such a disturbance that the Sheriff and candidates were obliged to go out of the courthouse 'til the house was cleared and the people appeased." Thereupon Thomas Chew, one of the candidates and also a justice,

whilst he was on the Bench, called for a bowl of punch and had it brought to him, upon which the Sheriff stayed the poll and said he would not have punch drank on the Bench, but would have a fair election; to which Mr. Chew replied, he would have punch and drink of it and that the Sheriff should not hinder him.

Taking of the poll continued, but with the county clerk and the under sheriff standing at the doors with drawn swords "in order to let the voters pass in and out quietly and regularly in their polling." But then John Rucker appeared and, entering the courthouse, promptly threw the under sheriff and another man out the door. When the under sheriff returned to his post, Rucker seized and tried to break the sheriff's sword and, with another person, "laid violent hold" on him. But the under sheriff was rescued by the onlookers.

By nightfall the clerk and the under sheriff had left their posts and "immediately the people thronged into the courthouse in a drunken, riotous manner; one of them jumping upon the Clerk's table and dancing among the papers" At last

the sheriff, having first adjourned the poll until the following morning, reopened it by candlelight and later proclaimed Robert Slaughter and Henry Downs duly elected to serve as burgesses from Orange County.

The unruly John Rucker, it also appeared, before and during the election had given out "several large bowls of punch amongst the people, crying out for those persons who intended to vote for Mr. Slaughter to come and drink of his punch." And Rucker had also stood at the courthouse door and kept out persons who were Belfield's friends and "after the election was over confessed he had won several pistoles upon Mr. Slaughter's being elected the first Burgess."

With this evidence before it the House of Burgesses resolved on June 5, 1742 that Robert Slaughter had not been duly elected and that those involved in the election fracas were "guilty of great misdemeanors and breaches of the privileges of this House." The sheriff and the other participants were brought before the bar of the House and reprimanded.

The general election for the Augusta County seats previously held by Colonel James Patton and John Wilson was set by the sheriff, James Lockhart, for December 17, 1755. People came in from the county to Staunton or Augusta Court House as some still called the cluster of twenty or so buildings. They gathered at the courthouse. "But," the sheriff reported that day on his return made to the governor's writ for the election, "the People were so tumultuous and riotous" that he could not finish taking the poll and that as a result no burgesses were elected.

At the beginning of the 1756 session of the House, the Committee of Privileges and Elections resolved to summon the sheriff of Augusta County to appear before the bar of the House to give an account of what had happened and of those who were responsible. Lockhart, it appears from the record, conveniently "was attending at the Door of the House." He was ordered immediately brought to the bar; the sergeant at arms conducted him.

Upon examination by the Speaker from the Chair, Lockhart stated that "he was proceeding in taking the Poll for the said Election, but before the same could be finished, so great a Tumult and Riot arose in the said Court-house, that he was prevented from proceeding . . . and that Richard Woods, David Cloyd, and Joseph Lapsley, were the chief Movers" For causing the tumult and riot and thus preventing the sheriff from finishing the election, Woods, Cloyd, and Lapsley were adjudged

"guilty of a Breach of the Privileges of this House" and ordered to appear to answer for their offense. At the same time an address to the governor was authorized for the issuance of a new writ of election for Augusta County.

When the three came before the House, they presented a petition setting forth that they were "altogether innocent" and that in fact Woods had "often applied to the Sheriff, desiring him to command Assistance to suppress" the tumult and riot and "offering his own Assistance therein." They prayed to be discharged out of custody, arguing that their case could be proven by depositions of witnesses and that "their personal Attendance, at so great a Distance, especially at this Time, when their Families would be exposed to Danger from the Enemy, in their Absence, would be very inconvenient"

The House resolved that the petitioners Wood, Cloyd, and Lapsley and the sheriff be permitted to examine witnesses and take depositions regarding the conduct of the election and the behavior of those present and that the depositions be returned to the clerk of the House. It then ordered that Woods and the others be discharged out of custody.

After receipt and study of the depositions furnished by the petitioners and the sheriff, the Committee of Privileges and Elections was forced to admit in its report to the House that there appeared to be "great Contrariety of Evidence" in the case. This was certainly true, but the summation of the conflicting stories by the Committee in its report provides a marvelous insight into political activities of the time. If the Committee could not resolve its dilemma as to what actually happened, its report showed clearly what could have happened.

The depositions on behalf of Woods, Cloyd, and Lapsley averred:

That on the 17th Day of December 1755 . . . the Poll was taken till towards the Evening, when the People crowded into the Court-House and pressed upon the Sheriff, who struck several of the Freeholders with his Staff on the Shins, and pushed them with the same in the Breast and other Parts of the Body, and threatened to push it down their Throats if they did not keep back: That he was desired to summon a Guard to keep the Crowd off, and that the Petitioner Woods offered to be one of the Guard: That the Sheriff whispered to several Freeholders as they came to vote to know who they were for, and then refused to take their Votes: That he several Times during the Election left the Court-House, which stopped the same while he was out: That after Candles were lighted the Petitioners

Lapsley and Cloyd came to give their Votes, and the Sheriff seized Lapsley by the Breast and pushed him backwards on a Bench, upon which Cloyd, with some Warmth, said, "Collar me too Sir;" that Lapsley and Cloyd then gave in their Votes, and the Poll was continued some Time afterwards.

And the depositions presented by the sheriff, James Lockhart, showed:

That while the Poll was taking the Petitioner Lapsley pulled out his Purse in the Court-Yard and offered to wager that Mr. Preston and Mr. Alexander, two of the Candidates, would go Burgesses, and that he and his Party would carry the Day; and that the Petitioner Woods was noisy and loud in the interest of Mr. Alexander, and offered to wager as Lapsley did: That when the Crowd pressed on the Sheriff he endeavoured to keep them back in a civil Manner, by putting his Stick a-cross their Breasts, and summoned a Guard to assist him, which was broke thro': That a Person came out of the Court-House and said to Cloyd, "The Election is going against us," who answered, "It should not, if we cannot carry it one Way we will have it another: I will put a Stop to the Election;" and immediately the Crowd encreased: That when Lapsley pressed thro' the Crowd to give his Vote the Sheriff desired him to keep back, but he pushed on and seized the Sheriff and pushed him against the Table: That after Lapsley and Cloyd had voted, the Sheriff desired them to withdraw, which they did not do, and in a short Time afterwards the Candles were struck out by the Petitioner Woods, and the Riot began which put an End to the Election, the Sheriff being thrown on the Table, which was broke under him, and the Clerks fled to the Bench; and during the Tumult Lapsley called out, "Lads, Stand by me. I'll pay the Fine, cost what it will: You know I am able." And all the said last mentioned Depositions mention that there was no unbecoming Behaviour in the Sheriff that Day.

The House decided that Woods, Cloyd, and Lapsley had not proved the allegations in their petition and that they should pay the reasonable charges and expenses of the sheriff, James Lockhart, in attending the House to defend himself. Possibly because of the "great Contrariety of Evidence," Woods and his friends do not seem to have received either reprimand or punishment.

Such glimpses of elections in eighteenth-century colonial Virginia show that they could be, and often were, turbulent affairs quite unlike the routine and well-ordered voting of the present day. But then Virginians of that time could be independent and headstrong, lusty and quick to take offense.

Augusta County was a frontier, wild and beautiful. From the north came the Scotch-Irish, the Ulster Scots, passionate believers in freedom, and the Germans deeply imbued with folk art

and culture; from the east came the English, in themselves representatives of the Crown and in their way defenders of the faith. All together they forged a strong and virile society, yet with a restless urge that kept them looking westward, toward the Alleghenies and the vast lands which lay beyond. But far to the east was Williamsburg, seat of their empire. In that government they wanted to share, and politics to them was a very real and earnest matter even if at times riotous and tumultuous.

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Certain passages in this article appeared in articles written by the author for *The Orange Review*, Orange, Va., and *The Staunton News-Leader*, Staunton, Va., for the use of which the author gratefully acknowledges the permission of those newspapers.

A SHORT HONEYMOON

For what is usually known as a filler, the editor of the Staunton *Spectator* found one of those odd bits of news reported by another newspaper for his own number of June 8, 1837. It must have intrigued him. Here is what Stauntonians learned:

Married—On the 9th ult., by the Rev. William Adair, Mr. John Corban to Miss Isabella Dunbar, all of Monroe County. And parted the same nite, after being in bed some two hours! The cause of separation unknown—Lewisburg Republican.

THE POINT PLEASANT CLAIMS

Transcribed and with an Introduction

by

Katherine G. Bushman

In January 1775 a court of claims was held for Augusta County according to statute to settle the accounts of the militia "lately drawn into actual service and for making provision to pay the same."¹ The statute referred to the service seen by the militia of western Virginia on October 10, 1774 at Point Pleasant, now generally considered the first battle of the American Revolution.

The historian Lyman Chalkley has the record from Augusta County Order Book No. 16, pages 33-48, January 17-19, 1775, but gives only a few of the names which appear in the Court of Claims entries for those three days.² The transcription which follows is of those entries as set out in Augusta County Minute Book, 1775, pages 118-129. The letters "OCd" stand for ordered certified and is one of the abbreviations used in the minute book account. Original spelling, capitalization, and punctuation have been retained.

A student of the history of the Valley of Virginia and western Virginia will recognize the various present-day counties of western Virginia and West Virginia which are represented. They are: Botetourt, Greenbrier, and Montgomery, all counties of southwest Virginia; and Augusta County proper, Rockbridge, Rockingham, Shenandoah, Pendleton, Bath, Hardy, and Randolph. It must be remembered also that in 1775 Augusta County still included the counties of Rockbridge, part of Bath, Rockingham, Pendleton, and Randolph.

With the time approaching rapidly for the bicentennial celebration of the American Revolution, we feel that publication of the complete list of Point Pleasant claimants as it appears in the minute book will prove of value—especially to those lovers of the history of our country and more especially of the great Valley of Virginia and the Alleghany mountain areas.

The western Virginia militiamen served in many engagements in the American Revolution—from Point Pleasant to Brandywine and Monmouth, from King's Mountain to Yorktown. This is only one of many tributes we plan to make to the

*at a Court of Claims for the hold for Augusta County,
January 19th 1775*

*Pres: at Smith Tinsell, John J. Ray, Geo Mathew,
also Robertson*

- + Geo Mathew, prod. Claims of James Christopher, ^{Boyley} Bostley,*
- + Heaver, Tully, David, Wm. Frogg, Dan. Laid, Robt. McFarland,*
- + Ralph Howard, Chas. Henshaw, Robt. Black. Geo. Cameron*
- + de³, Chas. Cameron, Chas. Lewis, let. let. Barnett*
- + In Patterson Wm. Alce. which are etc.*
- + Robt. Heall prod. a claim for horses in the service ^{SERVICE}*
- + sales as a driver which is etc.*
- + Geo Mathew, prod. Claims of hi. Robert, Chas. Hardy, ^{HARDY}*
- + L. Tyler, Chas. Cameron, Wm. Cather, Barnet Crawford, ^{EDWIN}*
- + Euphonia Hughes, Chas. Lewis, let. let. Ralston, Moore, Moore*
- + Robt. Stuart, Dan. Montgomery, Rust. Elwell, let. Lawrence,*
- + David Lewis, also Dunlap, Ab. Stuart, In. Davis,*
- + Hugh Dougherty, Thos. Smith, Dan. Ray, Robt. Hall, Hugh Brown*
- + which is and certified ^{NOY}*
- + Geo Mathew, prod. Claims of John Reays, And³ Reays,*
- + Robt. Tilford, let. Stephenson, Wm. Moore, also Howard,*
- + Wm. Gilmore, let. Henry. Chas. Reays. let. Reays, ^{HEAT}*
- + In. McElung, also Gately, Wm. Robertson, Edw. Blackburn*
- + and Reays, Leaking Buehney, Wm. Alexander*
- + Walker Boyler, Hugh Bradner, let. Smith, Isaac*
- + Anderson, Dan. Smith, Isaac Anderson, let. Patterson*
- + Chas. Reays, Wm. Moore, In. McElung, let. Montgomery*
- + Dan. Smith, In. McElung, let. Alexander, let. Taylor, In. McElung*
- + In. Murray. In. Reays, In. McElung, James Archer.*

Minute Book entries, Court of Claims, January 19, 1775.

From Augusta County Minute Book, 1775

hardy members of the militia of the Valley and western and southwestern Virginia who served in the War of Independence.

NOTES

1. W. W. Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia (1619-1792)* (Richmond, Va., 1809-1823), IX, 61-62.
2. Lyman Chalkley, *Chronicles of the Scotch-Irish Settlement in Virginia, Extracted from the Original Court Records of Augusta County, 1745-1800*. (3 vols., Rosslyn, Va., 1912), I, 183-184.

AUGUSTA COUNTY MINUTE BOOK 1775

Pages 118-129

At a Court held for receiveing the Claims of this County on this 17th January 1775 to be Certified to the next assembly Present Daniel Smith, Elijah McClenachan, Samuel McDowell, Michael Bowyer, William Bowyer and Alexander McClenachan

Michael Bowyer, Gent. Enters his dissent as to receiving the Claims, as they appear not certified according to Act of Assembly

Mr. Sampson Mathews produced sundry Claims of Andrew Hamilton for diets for the Militia, being proved by said Hamilton before George Moffett is OCd

Sampson Mathews produced Sundry Claims of Andrew Hamilton for the Militia, being proved by sd Hamilton before George Moffett is OCd

Sampson Mathews produced Sundry Claims of Robert Mckittrick for the Militia, being provd by sd Robert before George Moffett is OCd

Jno Finly produced Sundry Claims which he had made oath thereto before Alexr Robertson is OCd

James Kirk ditto Claims which he had made oath thereto before Alexr Robertson is OCd

Samp Mathews produced Sundrey Claims of Thos Kinkead which were proved by said Thos before George Moffett is OCd

A Claim of Hugh Allen decd for horses was proved by his brother James Allen and OCd

A Claim of James Allen's for Sundry horses was produced and OCd

A Claim of John Sadlers for Driving pack horses was produced by James Allen and OCd

A Claim for Sundry Persons for work on the Expedition under James Allen and Hugh Allen Certified by Andrew Lewis was produced by James Allen and OCd

Samp Mathews prod a Claim of Wm McPheeters for which was proved before George Mathews and OCd

Geo Mathews prod a Claim of Wm Reahs which was proved by him before Geo Mathews and OCd

Henry Ewing prod a Claim which was Provd before Geo Moffett —is OCdC

John Dean prod sund Claims which he had provd before Alexr McClenachan is OCd

Ralph Stewart prod an Acct for Provisions for his Company of Militia which he had proved before Wm Bowyer is OCd

Ordered that the Court be adjourned until toMorrow Morning at 8 oClock

Daniel Smith

At a Court continued and held for Augusta County the 18th January 1775 for receiveing Publick Claims to be Certified to the assembly—

Present Daniel Smith, Ab Smith, Felix Gilbert, Geo Mathews, Alexr Robertson

Geo Mathews prod Sund Claims of Alexr Stewart which was provd before Jno Hays and OCd

Geo Mathews prod a Claim of Isaac Anderson which was proved before Jno Hays and OCd

George Mathews produced claims for the following Solomon White, Jno Clendenin, Jno Miller, Robert [Leoncer?], Thos Fitzpatrick, James McClung, Samuel Brown, Archibald Smethers, Mary Wilson Executrix for Samuel Wilson, Jeremiah Ragan, Joseph Gwinn, John Ramsey, Robert Bratton, William Loughridge, Jno Montgomery, Robert Dunlap (3 claims), David Frame (3 claims), William Miers, Adam Bratton

John Trimble produced a Claim for diets for the Militia being provd before Jno Hays is OCd

Ezekial Harrison produced sundry Claims of Thos Harrison for diets for the Militia and OCd

Ezekial Harrison produced a Claim for diets for the Militia and OCd

Jno Wilson produced Sund Claims of Wm Wilson which was provd by sd Jno Wilson before Jno Hays and OCd

Geo Mathews pro a Claim of Thos Poage, proved before M Bowyer and OCd

George Mathews produced claims for the following which were OCd

Jno Mckee, Robert Bratton, Robert Hamilton, Robert Mckee, Wm Hamilton, Jno Gilmore, Robert Erwin, Robert Lockridge, Jno Wilson, Wm Anderson Senior, Thos Smith, Wm Black, Jno McCreery, Jno Douglas, Benjamin Stewart, Morris Ofreel, Robert Gwinn, James Patterson, Lanty Graham, Robert Fletcher, Thos Anderson, Francis McAndrew, Thos Stewart, Andrew Kinkead, Joseph O'Neal, James Andidle, Richard Johnson, John Wilson, Robert Rodgers, John Stephenson, George Seawright, Edward Thompson, Robert Thompson, Robert Craig, James Peeples, John Peeples, Andrew Lockridge, John Graham, Thomas Hall, Samuel Vance, William Hutchison, John Davis, and John Baxter, Lewis Tacket, Leonard Ball, William Fowler, William Blair, Robert Fletcher, Robert McElhenny, Michael Casady, Alexander Deal, Hugh Mcfaddon, William Crunkleton, Joseph Shanks, Jno McDougle, Samuel Anderson, James Crawford, Alexander Stewart, John Kirigin, John Jordan, Peter Hole, Leonard Leeman, Michael Armagust, Nicholas Harper, Peter Flasher, Barnet Linch, John Shull, John Mckemy, Thomas Wright, Samuel McChesney, James McChesney, William Neel, John Ramsey, Barnet Lance, Abraham Garrison, Francis Evy, Thomas Cartmill, Charles Donarly

John Lewis produced Acc and Vouchers, and claim for himself and others proved before Alexr McClenachan which is OCd

John Lewis produced a claim for Charles Lewis decd and made—OCd

John Lewis produced claims for the following which were OCd William Sharp, as a spy; John Davis as a spy; Robert Hall, diets; John Warwick, as a spy; Ephraim Richardson for pork; John Wiley, Lawrence Drenin, John Tackett, Lewis Tackett, Jeremiah Edwards, Widow Shaver, John Crouch

Jonas Friend produced a Claim for himself and others which was proved before William Bowyer and OCd

Geo Mathews made claims for the following, which were OCd: William Naull, Jacob Myers, Jacob Bare, Stephan Hans-

berger, George Cowger, James McChesney, Hugh Donaghe, Robert Davis, Adam Mallow, Michl Wolf, Jonas Friend, John Cassady, Antony Sedesque, Robt Allen, Senr, Michl Conner, Jacob Aberman, David White, Wm Cleaver, Jno Cawley, Geo Seawright, Jas Bratton, Robt. Cravens, Archd Henderson, Jas Montgomery, Wm Crawford, Hugh Beard, Jacob Pence, Jno Rush, Chas Rush, Danl Keith, James McCord, Jas Crocket, Davd Robertson, Robt Rodgers, Alexr Mitchell, Catherine Moser, Adam Moser

Geo Mathews produced Claims of Thomas Gordon, James Dunn, Paul Teeter, Peter Forneman, James Stephenson, James Davis which is OCd

John Lewis produced Claims of John Davis, Michael Bush, and David White for serving as a spy which is OCd

John Lewis produced a Claim for William Long for acting as a Commissary which is OCd

Ralph Stewart produced a Claim for himself and others for Ranging which is OCd

Geo Mathews produced Claims of Andrew McCampbel, William McCampbel, Samuel McCampbel, Hugh Bodkin, George Hammer, Wollry Coonrod, Matthew Patton, Bossell Hover, William Hadden, William Blair, John Mckenney, which is O Certified

Geo Mathews produced Claims of Jacob Nicholas, James McCampbel, John Carlile, Chas Lewis, Jos Mays, John Cockrain, George Bantoon, James Cuninghame, Samuel McDonal, John Cockran, Jacob Riffell, Peter Vaneman, John Smith, George Hammer, Peter Hole, Robert Clark, Martin Judy, Just Hinkle which OCd

A Claim for the Estate of John McClenachan decd was proved before John Lewis and OCd

George Mathews produced Claims of Charles Donally, George Smith, Rodger North, Edward Day, George Teter, Jonathan Smith, William Bennett, Ann Skidmore, Moses Ellsworth, Henry Rule, Jacob Peterson, Matthew Patton, John Wise, Abraham Hankley, Valentine Cloninger, John ODair, Francis Erwin, Neal O'Dare, John Johnston, James Stephenson, George McVeery, Samuel Dunn, David Nelson, John Henderson, John Hodge, Robert McElhenny, Samuel Nisbet which is OCd

George Mathews produced Claims for John Dickinson, Thomas Feemster, John Wilson, William Jackson, Robert McCreery,

William Poage, James Trimble, John Hamilton, Thomas Patterson, James Story, William Mckemy, George Kinkead, Frederick Hanger, sr, Morris Ofreil, David Wilson, John Cochran, James Logan, James Seewright, William Haden, George Cowgar, William Evans, Augustin Parker, George Berry, Charles Lewis, est, Charles and Frederick Sievert, David Laird which is OCd

Daniel Smith produced a claim and made oath, and OCd

John Cowardin on behalf of himself and others produced the Claims of John Johnson, William Shepherd, Peter Vanboven, Michael Dougherty, William Shepherd, John Ryley, Abraham Nowland, Andrew Goff, William Kinkead, Patrick Lawrance, Charles King, Thomas Gilbert, Michael Dougherty, and also an order from Col Lewis for rum which is OCd

Captain Jos Haynes produced 2 pay Roles for himself and others and also an acct of George Carpenters which is OCd

John Cowardin for himself and others produced Claims which are ass'd them of James Hughart, 6 claims; Job Chapman, Robert Daw, 2 claims; James Milikin 6 of them, which is OCd

John Cowardin produced Claims for himself and others—5 of them for horses in the Service and for 2 pack saddles, and OCd

Geo Mathews produced 5 claims of Jacob Warwick which is OCd

Geo Mathews produced claims for the following which are OCd William Warrwick, 8 of them; Andrew Sutlington, 3; Alexander Dunlap, 4

Capt Geo Moffett produced 2 claims for himself, proved before Alexander McClenachan and OCd

Captain Samuel McDowell produced a Claim of Andrew Reed which is OCd

Captain Samuel McDowel produced an Acct and made oath thereto and OCd

Geo Mathews produced Claims for

Matthew Wilson, William Moor, Patrick Murphey, Robert Cravens, Samuel Wilson, Patrick Hall, James Hall, Conrod Smith, Samuel McChesney, John Craig, Cornelius ODear, Andrew Hysaw, Reuben Harrison, Sampson Christian, Hugh Dunahe, Adam Wells, Michael Coulter, William Murrow, Elizabeth Stewart, Walter Cuningham, Philip Siler, Matthew Morehead, which is OCd

Capt John Dickinson produced a pay role for himself and others which is OCd

George Mathews produced Claims for Benjamin Harrison, Alexander Harrison, James Magill, John McMahon, John Curry, William Bennet, Goodlip Gabhart, Henry Stone, Gasper Haynes, Stephan Haynes and Jos Haynes which are OCd

Ordered that the Court be adjourned until toMorrow Morning 8 oClock

Daniel Smith

At a Court of Claims Contd and held for Augusta County January 19th 1775

Present Ab Smith, Felix Gilbert, John Hays, George Mathews, Alexander Robertson

Geo Mathews produced Claims of Sampson Christian, Bostley Hover, Tully Davitt, William Frogg, David Laird, Robert Mcfarland, Ralph Stewart, Charles Harrison, Robert Black, George Cameron, decd, Charles Cameron, Charles Lewis Estate, James Barnett, John Patterson, William Alexander which is OCd

Robert Hall produced a Claim for Horses in the Service and also as a Driver which is OCd

George Mathews produced Claims of John Patrick, Charles Hardy, John Lyle, Charles Cameron, William Eaken, Barnet Crawford, Ephraim Hughes, Charles Lewis Estate, James Ralston, Moses Moore, Robert Stuart, Daniel Montgomery, Richard Elliott, James Ewing, Junr, Jered Erwin, Alexander Dunlap, Alexander Stuart, John Davis, Michael Dougherty, Thomas Smith, David Hays, Robert Hall, Hugh Brown, which is ord Certified

George Mathews produced Claims of John Hays, Andrew Hays, Robert Tilford, James Stephenson, Moses Moor, Alexander Stewart, William Gilmore, James Henry, Charles Hays, Jos Henry, John McClung, Alexander Galespy, William Robertson, Edward Blackburn, Andrew Hays, Scolding Buckney, William Alexander, Walter Boyles, Hugh Bodkin, Edward Smith, Isaac Anderson, Daniel Smith, Isaac Anderson, James Patterson, Charles Harris, Moses Moore, John Mckemy, James Montgomery, Daniel Smith, John McClung, Joseph Alexander, James Sayers, John McClung, John Murray, John Patterson, John McClung, Sampson Archer, Alex-

ander Stewart, John Clark, Walter Boyles, James Trotter, John Clark, Archey Gilkeson, Adam Bratton, John Bell, Michael Dougherty, John Dickinson, James Finley, which are Ord to be Certd.

Present Wm Bowyer

Capt Wm Lowther produced a pay Role for himself and Company and also an acct which is OCd

James Hill produced a Claim for a horse and lost in the service which is OCd

Thomas Posey produced a Claim for a Mare in the Service which is OCd also an Account for Sundry Services which is OCd

George Mathews produced Claims of William Arbuckel, Thomas Conerly, Arthur Conerly, George Rucker, John Tate, Jacob Doran, Michael Mannin, Peter Poore, William Pence, John Milster, Daniel Workman, Richard Collins, James Bell, Moses Moore, George Elliott, Jacob Turn, Daniel Kidd, James Brown, Archibald Armstrong, William Alexander, James Alexander, James Bell, Felix Gilbert, Moses Thompson, and Alexander Robertson which are OCertfd

William Lowther produced a Claim of Daniel Warner and Andrew Davison for their service as spys which is OCd

Sampson Sawyers produced Sundry Claims for himself which are Ord to be Certfd

Sampson Sawyers produced a Claim for George Wayley which is OCd

Christopher Graham produced a Claim for a horse in the service which is OCd

William Naul produced 2 pay Roles for himself and others which is Ordered to be Certd

John Hays produced a Claim for himself and other for attending to Saddle Accts as pack horse Masters is OCd

Sampson Mathews produced Sundry Claims for Provisions at the Calfpasture which are OCd

Sampson Mathews produced and Account with Sundry Vouchers which are OCd

George Mathews produced a Claim for a horse in the service which is OCd

George Mathews produced a Claim for William Robertson and others for Provisions found themselves which is OCd

James Thompson produced a claim for Sundry Horses and their

hire and also for the Drivers in the Service which is OCd
George Mathews produced 2 Pay Roles for himself and others which were sworn to and OCd

a Claim of John Frogg decd for rideing Express being provd is OCd

A Claim of Charles Sims, Alexander Robertson, William Hamilton and James Hill—with a Certificate from Sampson Mathews which is OCd

A Claim of William Hamilton for rideing Express was prod and OCd

Walter Cuningham produced a Claim as adjutant which is OCd
Sampson Mathews produced a Claim of William McCune as a Cow Herd which is OCd

Thomas Posey and others produced a Claim for Sundry Horses and for sundry Horses Service and for the Masters and Drivers and OCd

Minutes were signed

Felix Gilbert

CEMETERY COMMITTEE REPORT

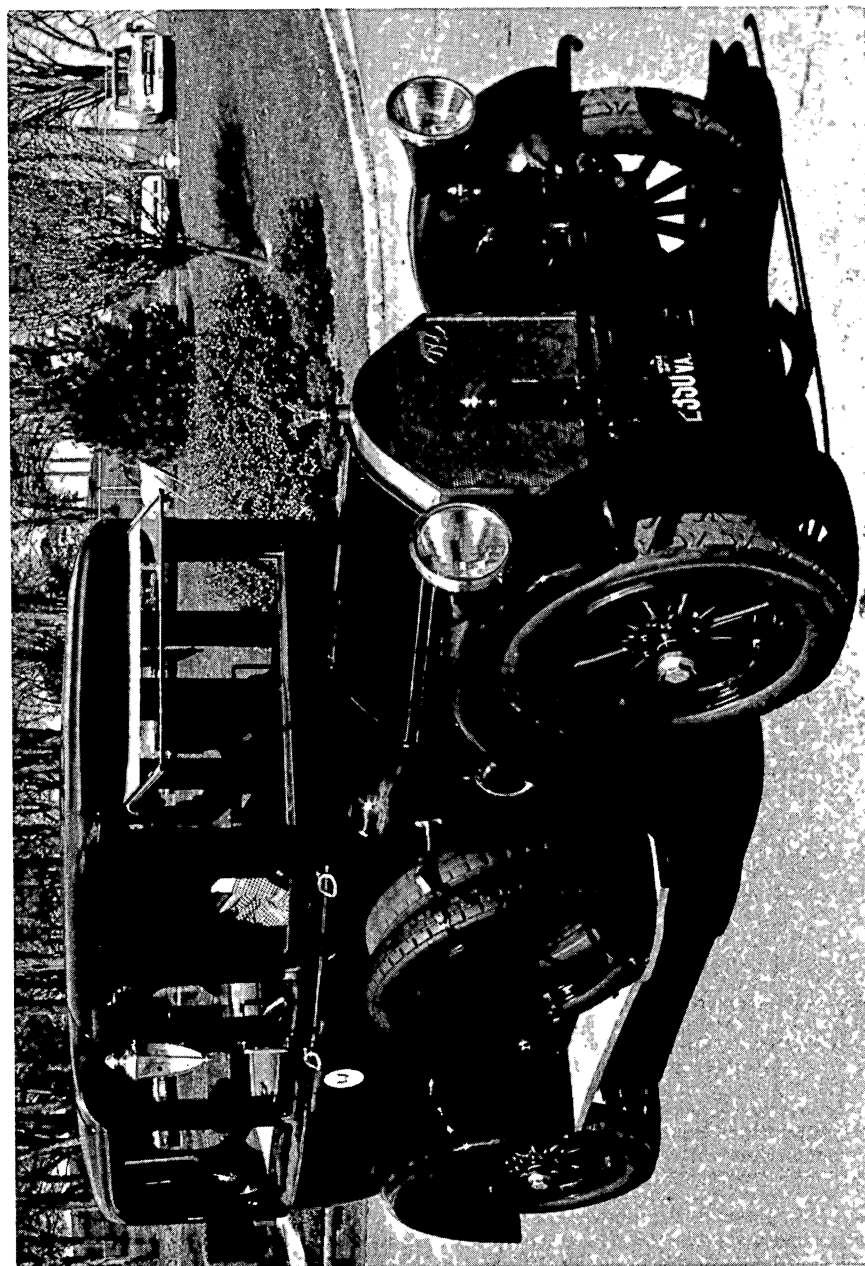
Submitted by Richard M. Hamrick, Jr.

EDITOR'S NOTE: The Society's cemetery committee is engaged in locating cemeteries throughout the county and recording inscriptions found on gravestones or other memorial markers. The impressive list which follows attests to the perseverance of those involved in this time-consuming and frequently tedious task. The Society and all those interested in the preservation of such important and often rapidly disappearing information must indeed be grateful.

The committee urges anyone with knowledge of cemeteries not already listed to contact Richard M. Hamrick, Jr., P. O. Box 937, Staunton, Virginia 24401.

CEMETERIES	RESEARCHERS
Abney Family Cemetery	Charles E. Mowry
Annex Church Cemetery	Richard M. Hamrick, Jr.
Old Bell Cemetery	Ralph S. Coffman
Beverley Manor Cemetery (Negro)	Richard M. Hamrick, Jr.
Cedar Green Cemetery (Negro)	Richard M. Hamrick, Jr.
Chinquapin Chapel Cemetery (Negro)	Richard M. Hamrick, Jr.
Coffman Family Cemetery	Ralph S. Coffman
Croft Family Cemetery	Richard M. Hamrick, Jr., & J. Hiner Hamrick
Crosby Family Cemetery	Richard M. Hamrick, Jr. & F. S. Baylor
Fishburne Family Cemetery	Richard M. Hamrick, Jr.
Frazier Family Cemetery	Richard M. Hamrick, Jr. & F. S. Baylor
Glick Family Cemetery	Ralph S. Coffman
Hammond Family Cemetery	Richard M. Hamrick, Jr. & J. Hiner Hamrick
Hamrick Family Cemetery	Richard M. Hamrick, Jr.
Hanger Family Cemetery	Mrs. A. V. Griffith & Mrs. John A. Taylor, Sr.
Harnsberger Family Cemetery	Richard M. Hamrick, Jr.
Hogshead Family Cemetery	Mrs. Amanda C. Forbes
Houff Family Cemetery	Richard M. Hamrick, Jr. & Ralph S. Coffman
Humphries graves	Richard M. Hamrick, Jr.
Hunter Cemetery (Negro)	Richard M. Hamrick, Jr. & Martha B. Hamrick
Knightly Mill Cemetery	Ralph S. Coffman
Landes Cemetery (Croushorn Farm)	Ralph S. Coffman
Landes Cemetery (Kegley Farm)	Ralph S. Coffman
Link Cemetery	Ralph S. Coffman
Loving Cemetery	Richard M. Hamrick, Jr.
Lytton Family Cemetery	Richard M. Hamrick, Jr., Martha B. Hamrick & Peyton Hamrick

Mann Family Cemetery	Richard M. Hamrick, Jr. & F. S. Baylor
Mennonite Cemetery	Ralph S. Coffman
Mennonite Church Cemetery	Richard M. Hamrick, Jr. & J. Hiner Hamrick
Middlebrook Cemetery	Richard M. Hamrick, Jr.
Mt. Airy Cemetery (Negro)	Richard M. Hamrick, Jr. & Thomas B. Hamrick
Mt. Joy Presbyterian Church Cemetery	Richard M. Hamrick, Jr.
Mt. Sidney Methodist Church Cemetery	Ralph S. Coffman
Crawford Family Cemetery	Charles E. Mowry
Myers Cemetery	Ralph S. Coffman
Oak Hill Cemetery	Richard M. Hamrick, Jr. & Martha B. Hamrick
Oakland Cemetery	Richard M. Hamrick, Jr. & Martha B. Hamrick
Orebaugh Cemetery	Richard M. Hamrick, Jr. & Martha B. Hamrick
Ptomey Family Cemetery	Richard M. Hamrick, Jr. & F. S. Baylor
Salem Lutheran Church Old Cemetery	Ralph S. Coffman & Gertrude M. Coffman
Salem Lutheran Church Cemetery	Ralph S. Coffman & Gertrude M. Coffman
Schutterle Cemetery	Richard M. Hamrick, Jr. & Martha B. Hamrick
Springhill Cemetery	Richard M. Hamrick, Jr. & Martha B. Hamrick & Peyton Hamrick
Summitt Church of the Brethren Cemetery	Ralph S. Coffman
Union Chapel Cemetery	Ralph S. Coffman
Van Lear Family Cemetery	Richard M. Hamrick, Jr., Martha B. Hamrick & Ralph S. Coffman (2 reports)
George Wine Cemetery	Ralph S. Coffman
Yount Family Cemetery	J. B. Yount III



President Woodrow Wilson's Pierce-Arrow as restored, 1973.

Courtesy, *The Staunton News-Leader*

PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON AND HIS PIERCE-ARROW

William H. B. Thomas

Restored faithfully to its original elegance, Woodrow Wilson's Pierce-Arrow is now a featured attraction of the permanent exhibition of his possessions at the President's birthplace in Staunton, Virginia. The limousine was a gift to the Woodrow Wilson Birthplace Foundation by Mr. Wilson's widow, Edith Bolling Wilson.

The motor car, as a contemporary of the Wilson era might have called it, came off the assembly line of the manufacturer in June 1919, the 121st of the 1920 series. That same month The Pierce-Arrow Motor Car Company, Buffalo, New York, leased the automobile to the United States Government for the White House fleet and use of the President.

Upon the return of President and Mrs. Wilson from the Paris Peace Conference in July 1919, they were met by a White House chauffeur with the Pierce-Arrow. Mrs. Wilson later recalled her feelings: "After an exhilarating day how good it was to reach Washington and see the White House limousine . . ."

During the remainder of his term the President used the car, which then displayed two distinctive emblems. On each of its rear arched doors was the Presidential seal in color; on the front of the radiator was the AAA symbol of the American Automobile Association. Mr. Wilson was proud of that symbol; in 1917 he had been the first President to join the Association.

That the Pierce-Arrow was a favorite with the President is attested by the fact that on March 4, 1921, the day of the inauguration of his successor, Warren G. Harding, he purchased the limousine from the Pierce-Arrow company. The bill of sale listed as buyer Woodrow Wilson, Esq. and as items sold one 48 h.p. vestibule suburban car (used), number 511121, and one extra touring body (used), number 930. A note stated also that the car formerly had been part of the White House equipment. Terms were cash; the price was \$3,000.

The Pierce-Arrow that the outgoing Chief Executive took to his private residence at 2340 S Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.,

was then and still is a substantial vehicle. Made of cast aluminum, it weighs three tons and stands eight feet high. Its 48 h.p. engine is an in-line six-cylinder type with dual ignition. There are Westinghouse air shock absorbers which on occasion have to be pumped up. Separated from the front or driver's seat by a roll-up glass partition, the rear section is commodious and has two jump seats for extra passengers. The interior is finished in pin striped broadcloth; the shades are silk. There are curtains which can be pulled down over the glass partition, screening off the driver from the passengers, but no one seems to remember that they were ever used in the President's time. And above the partition was a silver clock.

As the bill of sale indicates there were originally two bodies for the car. One was the vestibule suburban body that exists today; the other, an open touring body. These were interchangeable. There are running boards on either side (a feature older motorists of today can remember in their own early automobiles), and on the right-hand running board are located two spare tires.

The finish and fixtures of the Pierce-Arrow give a dignity and distinguished air surely in keeping with the Presidential office and far removed from the prosaic utilitarian vehicles which glide into the White House grounds today. Against the jet black paint of the body and on either side are German silver sconces with lights, and silver-plated door handles; and at the front is the nickel-plated radiator cover. The fender-faired headlights, as they were called, were long a distinguishing mark of the Pierce-Arrow company. There were also on the inside silver vases for budding flowers, but Mrs. Wilson had them removed as too effeminate.

After Mr. Wilson left the White House the Presidential seals were painted over and his initials added in their place. (An authorized reproduction of the seals was a part of the restoration.) But as a happy touch the colors of Princeton University, of which Woodrow Wilson was the thirteenth president, were incorporated in the car's decoration. The wooden spokes of the wheels were painted orange and black—the colors of Old Nassau—and around the body was traced an orange stripe. And to complete this nostalgic remembrance, an ornament in the form of a Princeton tiger reared up as a radiator cap.

It may not appear too surprising that Mr. Wilson's motor car bears a current license plate—"2350 Antique Vehicle Va."

when it is remembered that one can climb up into the front seat and drive off—after some indoctrination of course. To begin with, one must drive from the right-hand side, something of a novelty these days but quite common a half century ago. A tall, rod-like gearshift and a hand brake rise from the floor to the right of the driver's position, and there is a leather clutch which was oiled every night to prevent it from grabbing the next morning and thus jerking the car forward. There is no windshield wiper, and the sloping glass projecting out from the windshield is the only protection against wind, rain or snow.

Facing the driver on the instrument panel are a clock; speedometer giving mileage for an individual trip as well as the total; an ammeter; gasoline and oil gauges; and a pump for building up pressure in the fuel tank at the time of starting the engine. There is a starter on the floor between the clutch and foot brake, and hand levers for ignition and acceleration.

In its operation a former chauffeur of the President's, George B. Howard, recalled that the Pierce-Arrow responded instantly to the touch, although he described the general effect of driving as that of "having a substantial product under you." Compared to the cars of today, it has also been said, acceleration and stopping require considerably longer time, and turning, quite a bit of space. The motor, to the amazement of some, is quiet.

One aspect of the car's operation which could create difficulty for the uninitiated or inexperienced driver is that of "free-wheeling" or "floating." When the engine is not accelerated it disengages, giving the effect of the modern neutral position, and the car coasts downhill, for example.

The mere survival of Woodrow Wilson's Pierce-Arrow—a tangible reminder of early White House automobiles and later of Mr. Wilson's personal automobiling—is remarkable enough after more than fifty years. For during many of those years the old car was subject to vandalism and deterioration. But it is an additional fortuitous circumstance that George Howard, the last of Mr. Wilson's chauffeurs, could furnish a firsthand account of the former President and his Pierce-Arrow.

Mr. Howard went to work for Woodrow Wilson a short time after the latter left the White House in 1921 and upon the recommendation of Norman H. Davis, one-time Undersecretary of State. He drove for the former President until Mr. Wilson's death in 1924.



During Restoration.

When Mr. Wilson purchased the Pierce-Arrow in 1921 he acquired both the vestibule suburban body and the extra touring body, the former closed, the latter open. Twice each year the automobile was driven by George Howard to New York to have the body changed—in April to have the vestibule suburban body exchanged for the open touring body for the warm season and again about Thanksgiving to replace that with the closed body for the winter months. Mr. Wilson preferred the open body for his car and drives in the warm weather.

Driving was a favorite pastime, whether the weather was good or bad, and these drives took place daily. In order to make a speedy departure for such excursions and errands as well, Howard would back the car into the garage at the S Street house so that he could come out frontwards. This also positioned the car so as to permit Mr. Wilson, who required assistance, to get in more easily.

In his early days with the Wilsons, George Howard wore a mouse-gray uniform with a high collar which he described as rather typical for a chauffeur. But his employers disliked this and thereafter he dressed in a business suit.

Mr. Wilson oftentimes went out alone with Howard on his drives, and at other times he was accompanied by Mrs. Wilson whose companionship he so cherished. Perhaps they would be joined by others, the President's daughters, Mrs. Wilson's mother or sisters, or by close friends such as Admiral Cary Grayson, the President's physician, or Bernard Baruch. The conversation was informal, mostly comments and observations about what they saw along the way. If Mr. Wilson was alone, he would sometimes recite limericks much to George Howard's edification and amusement.

Favorite drives of the President were around Rock Creek Park or Haines Point along the Potomac River, down to Mount Vernon, or through the wooded areas above Chain Bridge. These seemed to have a cheering effect on Mr. Wilson, who suffered near-constant illness during those final years. The drives might last from one to three hours, but the greatest distance traveled around Washington did not exceed fifty miles.

During cold weather chauffeur and passenger had to be resourceful to keep warm, for the Pierce-Arrow did not have a heater. In Howard's case he would remove the front floor board and thereby get some warm air from the engine. Mr. Wilson brought with him a box full of hot bricks to keep his feet warm;

he also carried with him a lap robe, gold in color and made of vicuna wool.

Seldom did anything of import or distraction occur. On one tour around Rock Creek Park Mrs. Wilson noticed in the zoo there a group of Yaks standing on a slab of cement in the broiling sunshine. Later she contacted the head of the zoo and arranged for a pool to be installed for the shaggy animals who by nature prefer a cooler climate. On another occasion, when the Pierce-Arrow approached a restricted area near Fort Myer, a young soldier on guard, not recognizing Mr. Wilson, stopped the car. Howard felt justified in going on and moved the automobile forward slightly. The soldier aimed his gun; Howard stopped. Just then the officer of the day appeared, saluted the President, and allowed them to proceed.

Although Mr. Wilson did not drive, he was by reason of an ingenious device more than the usual back seat driver. He customarily sat on the right side of the rear seat and he had installed there a push-button arrangement by which he could send a warning to the chauffeur: one buzz was the order to stop; two buzzes, to turn left; and three buzzes, to turn right. Occasionally Mr. Wilson would sit in front and then communication was more direct.

Mr. Wilson was very conservative about speed, seldom permitting Howard to exceed 25 m.p.h. But that was not the extent of the car's capability by any means. For on his own on the semi-annual trips to New York, Howard was able to get the Pierce-Arrow up to 50 m.p.h.

Whenever the former Chief Executive came upon a motorist who appeared to have car trouble, Mr. Wilson invariably ordered George Howard to stop and try to be of assistance. Howard, who carried a small tool kit in order to make repairs to the Pierce-Arrow, frequently was able to help out. The stranded motorist—and road trouble was an ever-present possibility a half century ago—was torn between concern about the progress of the repairs and the novelty of being assisted by a chauffeur of the former President of the United States. Although the latter did not have much to say on these occasions, he always responded politely to the motorist's remarks. At other times Mr. Wilson would have the car stopped so that he could greet friends.

By happy circumstance or more likely George Howard's careful daily watch over the Pierce-Arrow, that motor car never had engine trouble or a tire puncture while he was driving for

Mr. Wilson. Other fortuitous aspects of automobiling in that era, according to Howard, were the low price of gasoline per gallon—perhaps only the equivalent of today's tax on one gallon—and the respectable record of twelve to fifteen miles per gallon which the Pierce-Arrow made. Then, too, oil cost about thirty-five cents per quart.

Other occasions in Washington which brought Mr. Wilson out in his Pierce-Arrow were baseball games at old Griffith Stadium and Saturday night vaudeville shows at Keith's Theater. The former President was an avid baseball fan, particularly pleased of course when the Washington team won. As a matter of courtesy his Pierce-Arrow was permitted to park inside the stadium somewhere in the outer reaches of left field. At the vaudeville shows he was especially popular with the entertainers because he always applauded enthusiastically whether their performance was good or bad. Later, to show their appreciation they would gather around the Pierce-Arrow to present to Mr. and Mrs. Wilson dozens of long-stemmed American Beauty roses. If the Wilsons were in a hurry, the performers placed the roses between the two spare tires on the running board as the car pulled away from the theater.

In those days a former President was not attended by the Secret Service, so that Mr. Wilson and his companions traveled alone on their outings. For a short time after his retirement, particularly during trips through Rock Creek Park, members of the press would follow. But this habit gradually lessened and ended after a time.

George Howard was a proud and meticulous custodian of the Wilsons' Pierce-Arrow. He washed, waxed, and polished the car and its handsome fixtures every day, and he worked seven days a week. Quite frequently he would be called on to pick up guests and to take them home. If he returned late at night Mrs. Wilson would ask him in for coffee or tea and sandwiches which she would prepare herself. Often she would join him.

Another errand in which the Pierce-Arrow figured revealed to George Howard a bit of insight into Woodrow Wilson's character. Mr. Wilson asked him to go to the Library of Congress to get a book. Mrs. Wilson wanted him to take her somewhere in the car. Howard, knowing that the Library then had a free delivery service, suggested to the former President that he would be glad to telephone to have the book delivered. But Mr. Wilson

refused, remarking "George, why should I spend the taxpayers' money when I have you to do the job?"

The Pierce-Arrow was not the only car of the Wilsons'. Mrs. Wilson had a German electric runabout which was also used while the Wilsons were in the White House. Then there was a Rolls-Royce which Bernard Baruch and some friends gave to the former President as a birthday gift on December 28, 1923. But the Pierce-Arrow remained the favorite.

On February 3, 1924 Woodrow Wilson, twenty-eighth President of the United States, died. Three days later George Howard drove the Pierce-Arrow for the last time in the service of Mr. Wilson. He took the Wilson family in the funeral procession from the S Street house to Washington National Cathedral for the final ceremonies and burial of the man he so greatly admired.

Mrs. Wilson made a gift of the Pierce-Arrow in 1925 to local citizens who were undertaking to preserve and open the President's birthplace. But during the ensuing years the car suffered, unfortunately, from vandalism and deterioration despite conscientious, if modest, attempts to keep it in condition.

At an occasional formal event the automobile emerged from obscurity. One such event was the 40th anniversary of President-elect Wilson's visit to Staunton in 1912. There was considerable pageantry, with gentlemen appropriately dressed for the Wilson era even to their high silk hats. Another was the celebration in 1956 of the 100th anniversary of the President's birth, during the course of which his widow, Edith Bolling Wilson, was invited to ride once again in the Pierce-Arrow. But the old car simply could not make one of Staunton's hills and stalled in the attempt. Mrs. Wilson and the other passengers were transferred to a more modern vehicle and the Wilson motor car of a past era retired once more from public attention.

In the late 1960s Dr. James S. Murphy, a member of the Board of Trustees of the Foundation, recognized the value and appeal of the car and initiated an effort to have it restored. As a result the Board authorized the work, which was to begin in the fall of 1971.

Since the restoration was to be done under the supervision of Mr. Charles Goodrich Thompson of South Tamworth, New Hampshire, a collector with expert knowledge of Pierce-Arrow cars, it was necessary to ship the automobile to him. One Wed-

nesday morning in October 1971, a tractor-trailer van emblazoned with the words "Movers of Antique Vehicles" arrived at the birthplace in Staunton. But loading the Pierce-Arrow proved a hazardous operation, for the ramp up to the van buckled under the three tons of the old motor car. With its cargo safely aboard at last, however, the van departed for New Hampshire.

To the consternation of officials of the Foundation in Staunton they received a telephone call Thursday night from New Hampshire asking where the automobile was. According to the length of the trip as estimated, the Pierce-Arrow should have arrived by then. On Friday afternoon the police reported that a search had begun for the transport, its driver, and the car. A thirteen-state alert was issued, the FBI came into the investigation on Saturday, but at midday Sunday there was still no trace of van, driver, or car. That night word came through that the van had been found, abandoned at a truck stop on the New Jersey Turnpike. It was not until another twenty-four hours had passed that the worried Foundation representatives knew at last that the car itself was still in the van and, happily, safe.

Once in New Hampshire the time-consuming and tedious work of restoration began. Much of that actual work was done by Mr. Ludwig Senden, a master craftsman. But from the outset it seemed a stupendous task. Mr. Thompson's comment, after the car had been restored and returned to Staunton, candidly summed up its condition before work began: "It wasn't vandalized; it was smashed."

The under carriage of the car had suffered, probably from long exposure to moisture; the instrument panel had been stripped; the upholstery had disintegrated; and the body had been channeled with what might have been a paint scraper and was badly dented.

One of the most obvious aids to restoration would have been records of the Pierce-Arrow company concerning the car. But the company, having been bought out by a French concern, no longer existed. Even that fact led nowhere, because in the transportation of equipment and other items across the Atlantic many of the Pierce-Arrow records were removed from their files and thrown overboard.

But there was help from other sources. A New York firm replaced the double convex lenses of the side lanterns and re-silvered them; another concern made many of the missing parts. The instrument panel was shipped to Colorado and furnished

with authentic replacements. A Boston upholsterer did over the interior with pin striped broadcloth similar to the original and replaced the silk curtains and shades. For the latter work the Pierce-Arrow was driven to Boston from New Hampshire under its own power. The return trip on a modern expressway in the rain and with no windshield wiper and in a three-ton vehicle which "free-wheeled" on hills was an exciting experience.

One small but significant item was still missing—the Princeton tiger radiator ornament. An appeal to an obvious potential source—the Princeton University community—brought forth nothing. Then George Howard recalled that an ornament—the original eagle that had come with the car—was in the Wilson garage on S Street in Washington, and the directors of that landmark graciously presented the ornament for reinstallation on the limousine. The Princeton tiger ornament still is missing!

On February 18, 1973 word was received in Staunton that the restoration was complete, and plans were immediately consummated for a triumphant yet meaningful return trip of the Pierce-Arrow.

Although the old limousine was now operable under its own power, it was thought best to transport it from New Hampshire to Staunton by van. Two stops were planned and at each the car was driven about.

The first stop was at Princeton University on March 13, 1973, where the Pierce-Arrow was parked in front of Prospect House. Here Mr. Wilson lived while president of the University. For four hours a considerable group of officials, students, historians, and the just plain curious paid homage to the survivor of a past era. There were understandable comments of admiration and amazement, and the event was fully covered by the press. From an editor of one paper came what was at once an apt and a moving tribute: "She was the chariot of a fallen king, and loved for that."

Later that day the trip was resumed—on to Washington, D. C., through the streets and environs of which the venerable limousine had so many times carried its distinguished owner, and to the house on S Street which once had been its home. At that house the Pierce-Arrow was on exhibition for two days, March 14 and March 15, and brought again a sense of pride and glory and a lot of nostalgia to Washingtonians young and old. George Howard was on hand to reminisce, to sit behind the

wheel he had held in his hands for so many hours and for so many miles, and to treasure memories of a by-gone career with the car and the man for whom he deeply cared.

Once again the Pierce-Arrow drove to the White House where it had all started back in June 1919, and again the press was on hand, following in other vintage cars and recalling the coverage by newspapermen of a past generation. And then up to the Capitol, to be greeted by dignitaries who paused in their work of government to express admiration and sentiment for a symbol of past greatness.

Finally, on March 16, 1973, Woodrow Wilson's Pierce-Arrow arrived back in Staunton and the following day was formally presented to and accepted by the Woodrow Wilson Birthplace Foundation. The ceremonies were dignified, yet full of a happy nostalgia.

At the affair Justice George M. Cochran of the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals was master of ceremonies. There was a presentation of the colors by the 4030th Support Center, Virginia Army National Guard, Staunton, and remarks by Major General E. Walton Opie, a charter member of the Foundation. The keys to the Pierce-Arrow were presented by Dr. James S. Murphy, the initiator of the restoration project, and received on behalf of the Foundation by Justice Cochran.

Mayor Richard A. Farrier accepted the restored limousine on behalf of the people and the city of Staunton; Mrs. Waller C. Lescure, president of the Foundation, on behalf of that organization.

At a luncheon following the ceremonies the Honorable M. Caldwell Butler, member of Congress from Virginia, was the principal speaker. In a talk which touched on his own reaction to a ride in the Pierce-Arrow when it was in Washington, he stressed the genius, vision, and honesty of Woodrow Wilson. Among his listeners, most appropriately, were George B. Howard to whom the ceremonies must have had special meaning; Dr. Murphy and Mr. Thompson, initiator and supervisor of the restoration; Mrs. John M. Sproul, chairman of the Restoration Committee For Pierce-Arrow Limousine; and Mrs. Herbert McKelden Smith, president-emeritus of the Foundation.

It is altogether fitting that Woodrow Wilson's Pierce-Arrow, so intimately a part of his life, should share a lasting role with his birthplace in Staunton, Virginia.

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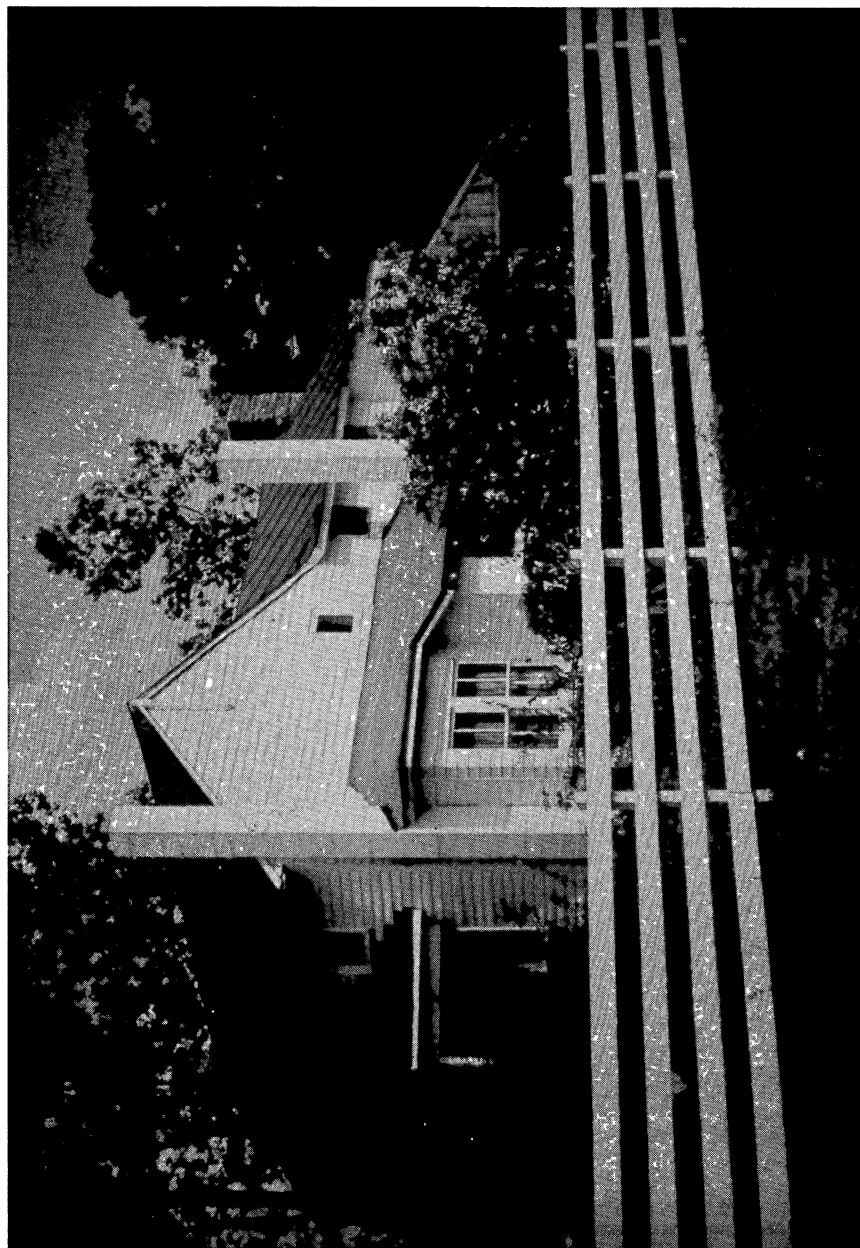
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Hickory Dale, Deerfield, Virginia.

Photographed by George T. Yarrow

Tenth of a Series

OLD HOMES OF AUGUSTA COUNTY

Hickory Dale
Deerfield, Virginia

The Home of Mrs. Clemmer (Ethelyn Clayton) Miller

Gladys B. Clem

Tucked away in Deerfield Valley among the lesser peaks of the Alleghanies is the pioneer home of the Clayton family.

The name has been long established, even by English standards, since the first Robert Clayton fought valiantly in the battle of Hastings in 1066 and was awarded lands and a title for loyal service and effective use of his good bow. Many of his descendants came to America in later years.

One of these was John Clayton, born in St. James Parish, London, June 4, 1756. As a young man he was intrigued with the New World and in spite of darkening war clouds came to America in 1774.

From childhood only one girl had held his interest and regard. Her name was Margaret Carlyle. Following her arrival in America the romance culminated in their marriage at Deerfield, then known as Little Calf Pasture, on December 2, 1786. After living in the Windy Cove Church community for some years they moved to Hickory Dale following the death of John Carlyle, Margaret's step-father. The ownership of Hickory Dale has continued in their family for almost two centuries; the present owner is Mrs. Ethelyn Clayton Miller.

This uniquely interesting old home, now geared to modern living, has nine rooms, bath, and several inclosed porches. Two narrow boxed-in stairways lead to the upper story.

Originally the house was of log construction. Diamond-shaped holes, cut through the logs and from which muskets could be fired during Indian attacks, were visual reminders of the time Deerfield Valley was part of the western frontier. When structural changes were later made to the house these evidences of the pioneer period were weatherboarded over.

The large river rock chimney in the main part of the house has remained in constant use through the years. But the one

in what was formerly the kitchen where the family's meals were cooked in iron pots, turning slowly on the crane or in Dutch ovens on the hearth, has now been inclosed. Rounded river rock, laid so as to form a rough scallop design, form an unusual mantel shelf above the fireplace. Topping it is a large blue platter that was brought from England by some early Clayton ancestor. This room is now used as the family dining room.

Exposed hand-hewn beams darkened to a smooth patina and the "up and down" doors with their wide locks and enormous keys preserve the character and timelessness of the home-like living room. The small-paned windows with their rainbow-like hues and wavy lines are patently the handiwork of some long-dead local glazier. An Eli Terry clock with wooden works and metal weights has had an honored place on the living room mantel since the day Mrs. Miller's great-great-grandfather purchased it from a traveling salesman. The salesman had come through Deerfield with two clocks for sale—one in each saddlebag.

Modernized with the usual electrical appliances, the present kitchen was once the loom room. As in most pioneer homes, particularly where much flax was grown, the cumbersome loom and the spinning wheels used to weave the linsey-woolsey for the family's clothing and bed linens were housed here. Several handsome bedspreads woven during this early period are highly prized by the family as loved and valuable heirlooms.

Many lovely pieces of furniture, handiwork of some local artisan, have seen generations of use. The width of the boards of the large dining table, some measuring twenty-one and a half inches, and the wide random-width flooring throughout the house indicate that there was no scarcity of fine lumber in the days of Hickory Dale's construction.

Another interesting piece is a corner cupboard the history of which is identified with a much-loved old family servant. She was a favorite with the children for her spine-tingling ghost stories. Completely against her wishes she was taken to another state where she was most unhappy and homesick. She longed to return to her "folks" in Virginia. Arrangements were made for her to do so, but she died before her dream was realized. According to legend, for fifty years afterwards the doors of the corner cupboard, where she was accustomed to place freshly baked pies and cakes, refused to stay closed.

In the almost two-centuries history of this family seat, it is only natural that each individual left some imprint of his or her personality on the old home.

Probably the person who stands out with special clarity is William Brown Clayton, an uncle of Mrs. Miller's. As a boy, it is said, he always had a special love for animals. His favorite pet was a deer he had raised from a fawn. It followed him everywhere, even into the house where it would curl up on the bed to sleep. Another was a fastidious little raccoon which always insisted on bringing its freshly caught fish into the house. There it would daintily dispose of each mouthful—until chased outside. William's mother must certainly have had either a vast amount of patience or the sympathetic understanding of a small boy's needs.

On one occasion, after his father had carefully prepared the garden patch for spring planting, he sent William out to put in the seed beans. But other interests, far more absorbing, claimed the boy's attention just then. Hurriedly throwing the beans in a fence corner and hoping his father would think the seed no good and in any case would not come to check, he went on his way. The young culprit's sins were found out following the first spring rains. The fence corner where he had thrown the seed was thick with young bean sprouts!

For years the Clayton home had been known as Cherry Farm, because of the many trees of a specially fine variety that grew around the place. People from miles around would come to buy the fruit, with William called on to do much of the picking. Tired of both people and cherries, he wished one day the cherry trees would die—which they soon did! Later, the home was renamed Hickory Dale for the numerous hickory trees growing nearby.

A true individual to the last, William never married. Though he was singularly gifted with a talent for mechanics, his mother would never consent to his leaving home to develop this aptitude. At her insistence he remained on the farm all his life, and hated it to his dying day.

Mr. Clemmer Miller, Mrs. Miller's late husband, was a popular and well-known game warden for many years. In the line of his work and his interest in Americana he collected numerous primitive tools that were necessities of the pioneer period. This interesting exhibit, housed on an inclosed porch, includes many items unfamiliar to the average person. Among



Mantel, Hickory Dale.



"Up and down" door, Hickory Dale.

Photographed by William Bushman

these are wolf and bear traps, a shingle splitter, broad ax, wooden hay fork, warming pan, and many handmade tools in popular use a century or more ago.

In the measurement of time and the passing of generations, few homes have withstood change as has Hickory Dale. Built and fortified by the Clayton family of early pioneers, it stands staunch and enduring against the encroaching demands of time.

TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO IN AUGUSTA COUNTY

From Augusta County Order Book 15

- March 19, 1773 Thomas Smith agrees to set free Thomas Day on condition of certain furniture to be made by Day.
- May 19, 1773 John Gabriel Jones intends to practice law, and gets certificate of good behavior.
- May 22, 1773 Sampson Mathews being summoned to show cause why he does not qualify justice, says he and Michael Bowyer are on bad terms because Sampson recommended that Michael be dismissed as Sheriff—yet Michael seems to be very officious in causes in which Sampson is interested, and he will not sit on a Court of Justice with such a man. Sampson has removed to Richmond?

ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO IN AUGUSTA COUNTY

The following excerpts from the *Staunton Spectator* for the year 1873 are reproduced exactly as they appear in the newspaper.

January 14, 1873

Womens Rights in 1836

In our antiquarian researches we discover from the poll book of 1836, that women once voted and had some rights men were bound to respect in this city—"At a poll held at the C. H. of the Corporation of Staunton, Friday, May 20, 1836, "concerning the watering of the town" the vote stood: for water, 75—no water, 55. Housekeepers and property holders, although non-residents, were permitted to vote, including females!

Eleven females voted by proxy, of whom four votes for water and seven against. Of the persons voting for water only 9 are now living, and of those voting against only 4 are living. The ladies voting for water were: Maria Sheffey, Eleanor Stuart, Catharine Woolwine and Agnes C. Garber. Against water: Elizabeth Harouff, Catharine Harouff, Lucy Fitzpatrick, Mary Eakle, Elizabeth Morris, Sarah A. Fuller, and Christine Fuller.

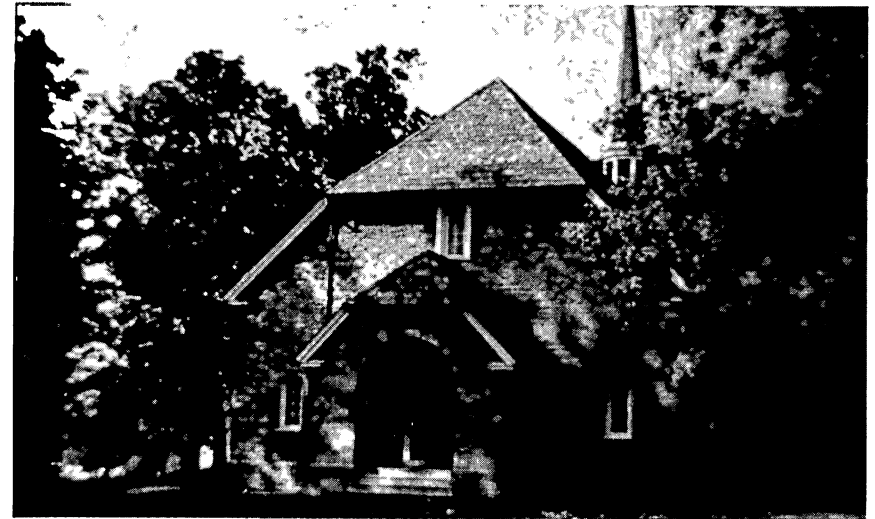
January 28, 1873

The Old Courthouse was built of Stone and the foundation of the present courthouse was built with some of the same stone. We learn this from a gentleman who recollects it distinctly, as he, when a boy, assisted in taking it down.

Augusta County received \$2011 of State School Funds with \$3217.60 ready for distribution at the rate of 40 cents per pupil according to the old census.

February 25, 1873

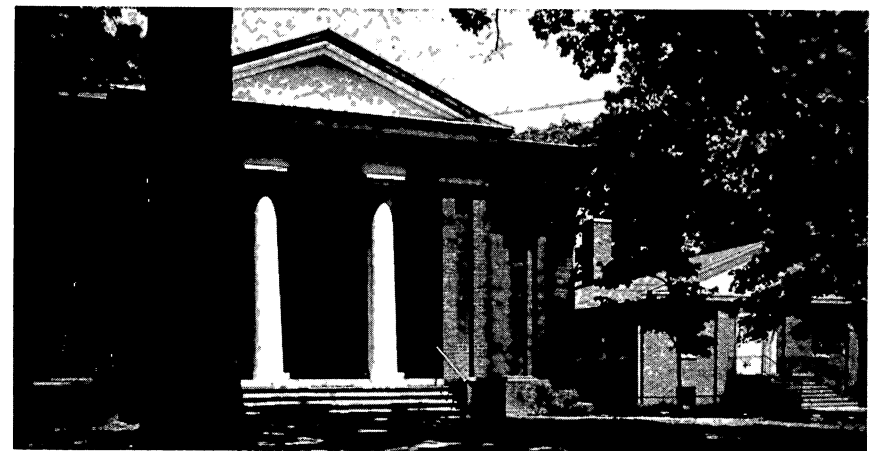
L. T. McGilvray of Greenville invented "The Geared Hand Carriage", a three wheeled vehicle capable of 5 miles per hour. It is propelled by a crank and can be large enough to accommodate 4-6 persons. A patent has been applied for.



Augusta Stone Church.

Courtesy, Augusta Stone Church

The Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission in 1973 placed on the Virginia Landmarks Register the Augusta Stone Church (above) and the Tinkling Spring Church (below). Both church organizations grew out of the 1738 Presbyterian Triple Forks of the Shenando Congregation. The former constructed the front section of the present stone structure at great sacrifice between 1747 and 1749; the latter's stone building was replaced in 1850 by the present brick sanctuary.



Tinkling Spring Church.

Courtesy, Tinkling Spring Church

THE SOCIETY'S AMERICAN REVOLUTION BICENTENNIAL PROJECT

Our Society, through its Board of Directors, has embarked upon a project which we hope will be a real contribution both to the Bicentennial observance of Independence and to the permanent historical records of the Commonwealth of Virginia.

Why A Project?

Under the leadership of such well-known Virginians as George Washington, Patrick Henry, and Thomas Jefferson, none outshone the patriots of the Great Valley of Virginia in exhibiting the Spirit of '76. They did not fight because British units were invading their home area, between the waters of the Holston on the southwest and the mouth of the Shenandoah on the northeast, but went into battle in great numbers impelled by the love of liberty that was foremost in their hearts.

Because of our heritage from them it is our desire —

To commemorate the 200th anniversary of American Independence;

To learn anew the meaning of the civic and religious freedoms gained at such a high cost in the Revolution;

To focus on the heroic deeds and sacrificial service of the patriots of Western Virginia; and

To be well-informed in order to give a proper welcome to the increasing travelers during the Bicentennial period, 1975-1983.

What Is Our Project?

In order to promote these objectives the Augusta County Historical Society is sponsoring the production of a brief history of noteworthy roles played during the Revolutionary era by the leaders and youthful "back country riflemen" of the counties west of the Blue Ridge, between the Maryland and Tennessee lines.

It is to be a lucid, authentic story prepared by highly capable historians that would present select Western Virginia

patriots of 1774-1783, such as Daniel Morgan, Peter Muhlenberg, Zechariah Johnston, William Preston, Andrew Lewis, William Campbell, and others. It is designed for the reading of the young and old of the general public and for families traveling in our area.

We hope the book will also contain very valuable appendices listing the names of all the Revolutionary soldiers of the Great Valley as far as they can be accurately ascertained.

What Is Our Purpose?

It is the purpose of our Society to manage and coordinate the research, preparation, publication, and distribution of this book. We hope to market it widely within and beyond the borders of the Great Valley, for no proposed Bicentennial literature covers this phase of the commemoration.

How Is This To Be Accomplished?

Our prospective writers, researchers, and publisher are ready to go, now. Much material has already been gathered, but it will require the immediate support of many to carry out our plans, and the time is short.

Therefore the Society, through its Project Committee, is requesting its members and the citizens of Augusta County, Staunton, and Waynesboro to underwrite this project by private subscriptions and through their governmental units, their business, civic and professional associations, and their clubs and cultural organizations.

The task of securing the funds necessary for the preparation of this book is entrusted to the following Project Committee appointed by the Board of Directors: from Waynesboro, John M. McChesney, Jr., J. Ellison Loth, Mrs. Thomas M. Mehler; from Staunton, Marshall M. Brice, Mrs. William Bushman, Richard M. Hamrick; from Augusta County, Mrs. H. D. Hevener, Gifford M. Mabie, Mrs. John M. Sproul; and Chairman, James Sprunt.

The Project Committee has sent to all our members a descriptive brochure accompanied by a letter of explanation and appeal.